



A

L E T T E R

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

1900 LETTER R 3RA
TO :
EDMUND BURKE, Esq.
ON THE
LATTER PART OF THE REPORT
OF THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
ON THE
STATE OF JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

WITH
Some curious Particulars, and original Anecdotes, concerning the FORGERY committed by MAHARAJAH NUNDCOMAR BAHADAR, on the Proof of which he lost his Life.

Calvin's Advice to thee

“Who steals my gold, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing 'twas
“mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands but he who
“Takes from me my good name, robs me of that which not
“enriches him, and makes me poor indeed”

Shakespeare's Othello

154.084

LO N D O N .

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A

LETTER

to

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

SIR,

EVERY body gives you the credit of having drawn up the report from the Select Committee; and there are some strokes in it, which mark the hand too plainly for it to have been mistaken, without the necessity of your friends giving themselves the trouble they have done, to let us know who was the author. Modern patriots have their marks, as well as the ancient ones. Johnny Wilkes will live and die Johnny Wilkes. And whilst Mr. Burke can speak or write, it will be in tropes and figures, which make no more impression on

the mind, than water colours do on the canvas ; a little attention to truth does away the first, as effectually as a little pure water obliterates the last.

YOUR particular dislike to the Governor General of Bengal, is supposed to have taken its rise in your correspondence with the King of Tanjore.

YOUR extensive reading furnished you with instances in abundance, of tributary kings keeping in their pay, the pedagogues of Greece and Italy ; and you could devise no reason why the patriots of Britain, should not benefit by a profession, made famous from its having been adopted by the orators of Athens and of Rome ; so extended your patronage from New York in the west, to the plains of Hindooostan in the east.

YOUR Chairman, warmed by the high military fame he acquired during his command abroad, seems determined to save the East India Company, by communicating to them the knowledge and experience he accumulated whilst in their service in India ; where having learnt from his own practice, that claiming an exclusive right to trade in salt, a necessary of life, tea and china, mere luxurious commodities, and cotton, a raw material, without which the manufacturers of Bengal cannot go on, has a pernicious tendency on the morals of the younger servants, he seems desirous to argue for his

his sins, by preventing any future servants of the Company, whether military or civil, raising themselves to opulence and grandeur, by the same means which he himself has made use of.

YOUR friend, Mr. C. W. Boughton Rouse, feels it necessary to correct and amend the course of Justice in Bengal—well knowing that a certain President of one of the Courts of Adawlet, was brought before the Supreme Court of Judicature, soon after its first erection, and obliged to refund three eighths of a thousand pounds, which the moderate magistrate had taken for his share from a complainant, in whose favour he had decreed a cause for 8000 rupees.

IF you want the above fact authenticated, ask a man close to your nose, who, in October 1774, was leading hounds in couples about the town of Calcutta, but since passed through the law as the first qualification, and then, through a corrupt borough, into the senate house, and now sits employed with the above worthies, to attack the virtues of a man, of whom, in their former lucrative occupations, they stood in the utmost awe.

To give to committees that degree of credit, which their delegated power from Parliament seems to entitle them, all they say, and all they do, in their detached capacity, should be so cool, so

temperate, so impartial, and so free from every idea of personal enmity or party spleen, to the persons whose conduct they are about to enquire into, as not to leave a doubt on the mind of their readers, that their passions were in the least biased in favour, or disfavour, of the parties concerned. Without such conviction on the minds of the people, inflammatory declarations, entitled reports from committees, will but recall to their remembrance, those diabolical instruments of tyranny, invented by the Tudors, and practised by the Stuarts, the High Commission Court and Star Chamber, or that yet more infernal bar to the peace and happiness of mankind, the Spanish Inquisition.

I CONCIVE that all reports are first printed, and suffered, for some considerable time, to spread abroad and circulate amongst not only the Members of the House, but the people at large, to give to the persons interested, or to their friends, should they be absent, time to offer such reasoning and argument in their favour and defence, as the nature and circumstances of the case will admit.

I CONCIVE that a Committee of the House of Commons, or any other body of men, having in charge to investigate a matter of fact, are bound as much by their honour, as a jurymen is by his oath, to return a verdict according to their conscience, and so help their God. It is true the

report of the former, is mere matter of report, founded on parole evidence, and no further binding, than as the House shall find it clear in its evidence, and impartial in the conclusions which have been drawn from that evidence ; but a jury, influenced by passion, or swayed by prejudice, and persisting in their verdict, may, whilst the judge nods on the bench, hurry a fellow creature to his last account, without a single imperfection on his head. The Committee are formed of men of honour, taken from a body, once thought by all Europe, to be the most august assemblage of select spirits, representing as noble and as free a nation of people, as ever appeared on the stage of the world. I hope they are about to recover that character ; to obtain which, their predecessors fought to their knees in blood.

We have been told that the law of Parliament, is above all the laws of the land ; and there have been instances of their power, which, in their consequences, have made us feel that it is so ; and I may be told, that notwithstanding the clear and explicit title page of your report, which seems, to a common understanding, to confine the Committee to an enquiry into the state of the administration of justice, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissi, that, in fact, that is not the case, but that their powers of investigation, extends to all sorts of concerns of the East India Company, even

down to the peevish complainings of one of their servants, for neglect or inattention in the Court of Directors towards him.

If that is really the case, and that it is not beneath the dignity of the Committee, to condescend to enter on the face of a report, ~~if~~ to contain matters purely judicial, or to exhibit in the appendix of such report, certain papers, containing the mere political opinions of Mr. Philip Francis, it will not, I hope, be thought indecent in me, to contrast some other of that gentleman's political opinions with them, and thereby shew how necessary it may be for the legislative body of this country, to know the true character of such a man, and the colour of his evidence, before they come to any final conclusion on the subject matter of the report,

THERE are parts of the report, which are so compounded of judicial and political matter, that it will not be easy to separate them ; and there are also ideas conveyed by implication, which merit observation, only because they are to be found in a report sent into the world by so honourable a Committee. Whilst such insinuations and inuendos, were to be found only in anonymous pamphlets and daily papers, they were suffered to die away with other trash from the same quarter ; but finding that many of them had been transplanted into a work, composed by so eminent a penman, and

and bearing the sanction of a Committee of the House of Commons, I will examine them with candour and with truth; and leave others to determine on what principle, and from what motives, they have been introduced into the report of a Committee, whose sole declared purpose was an investigation into judicial affairs.

THE following extracts have been faithfully copied from part of the 22d, and from part of the 23d, pages of the report; and I have subjoined immediately to them, document No. 8, from the appendix of the same report. These quotations are of a nature purely political; nor was it possible for the Committee to have understood them, or to make their readers understand them, without a complete reference to the East India Company's Bengal records, as far back as the 19th day of October 1774. Such omission has a tendency to mislead the opinion of persons, whose determination may be prejudicial to the honour of a gentleman, not now in a situation to defend himself. No. 8 contains assertions yet to be proved, and is the production of a man, long used to the habit of making bold assertions, and then leaving them, like Bickerstaff's prophecies, to shift for themselves. If, Sir, I do not prove this in several instances, before I sit in this audience, I will be content to be held in a degree of as much contempt for *leaving* *making*, as Mr. Francis now is, and will remain, in spite of all your efforts to save him.

“ AND

" AND Mr. Francis being afterwards further examined, said, That he landed at Dover the 19th of October last. And being asked, How soon he saw the Chairman of the East India Company after his arrival in London, he said, That on Saturday the 20th of October, he gave notice to the Court of Directors of his arrival: he went to Mr. Sullivan's (the Chairman) house the same day; and on the Monday, he went to the Deputy Chairman; but he saw neither of them. Hearing nothing from the India House, or any person belonging to it, except that the Secretary acknowledged the receipt of his letter, he went again to the Chairman's house on the 12th of November, and left a message for him in writing, requesting to see him; in consequence of which, he was so polite as to come to his house the next morning. After that he wrote to him, and upon his laying his letter before the Court of Directors, he was informed by the Secretary, that the Directors had requested the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, to receive from him any information he might have to offer on the state of the Company's affairs: (Vide Appendix, No. 6.) Accordingly he went to the East India House by appointment, on the 19th of November, and delivered those gentlemen a paper of the heads of that information which he meant to give them, and gave them explanations as he went on: And the witness begged to be permitted to lay a copy

" of

" of that letter before the Committee, (vide Appendix, No. 7.) And being asked, what enquiry
 " was made of him by the Court of Directors, con-
 " cerning the state of the controversy between the
 " Governor General and Council, and the Su-
 " preme Court of Judicature, when he left Bengal,
 " he said, He had never been introduced to the
 " Court of Directors, nor called upon in any shape
 " by them. When he saw the Chairman and De-
 " puty, they asked him no questions whatever upon
 " this subject, nor, as well as he can recollect,
 " upon any other. That the Chairman and De-
 " puty Chairman, assigned no reasons why no
 " questions were asked of him upon this, or upon
 " any other subject; nor can he conceive what
 " their reason could be, unless they were apprehen-
 " sive his answers might bring forward information,
 " which they did not wish to see brought forward;
 " and the witness added, But this is mere conjec-
 " ture. And being further asked, Whether a
 " letter which appeared in the public news-papers,
 " dated Calcutta, 12th of October, 1780, signed
 " Philip Francis, (vide Appendix, No. 8,) is a
 " just copy of any letter written by him to the Court
 " of Directors, he said, It is his letter. And it
 " being stated to the witness, That as he had stated
 " in his letter to the Court of Directors, that they
 " had suffered the Company's fundamental prin-
 " ciples of policy to be overset, their instructions
 " and orders, in various instances, to be disobeyed
 " with

with impunity; that they had condemned the
 Governor-General, and another Member of the
 Council, in the strongest terms; and charging
 also the Directors with various other neglects of
 duty, violations of promise, and other matter of
 a criminal and serious nature; he was asked,
 Whether he knew or believed, that the Court of
 Directors ever received that letter; he said, The
 Chairman told him they had. That the Chair-
 man did not call upon him to support those
 charges by evidence, or to disclaim them as
 groundless, and injurious to the honour of the
 Court of Directors; but he, the witness, told
 him, he was ready and able to make them good.
 That the Chairman mentioned the letter to him,
 as the true and only cause that he was not received
 by the Court of Directors, with those public
 marks of civility and approbation, to which he
 was otherwise entitled. That he did not tell him
 any enquiry would be instituted into the subject
 matter of that letter, but rather intimated to
 him, that the Court of Directors had no inten-
 tion to take any notice of it whatever. That he
 adheres to the sense and terms of that letter in
 every particular, and believes he can establish the
 truth of his assertions by sufficient evidence.
 That the orders of the Company were not sup-
 ported and enforced by the Court of Directors,
 whilst he was in Bengal. That he thinks the
 Acts of Parliament, relative to the regulation of

" the

“ the East India Company, in general, are not
 “ strictly regarded. And being asked, What he
 “ held to be the principal cause of it, he said, Men
 “ who have violated orders, and who, as he thinks,
 “ have disregarded Acts of Parliament, have been
 “ censured, but not punished, and instead of being
 “ removed from their stations, have been continued
 “ in them by new appointments. That the conver-
 “ sation wherein the Chairman intimated to him,
 “ that the Court of Directors did not intend to take
 “ any notice of his letter of the 12th of October,
 “ 1780, passed at his house on the 13th of Novem-
 “ ber last.”

A P P E N D I X, No. 8.

Copy of a Letter sent over some Time ago by Mr. Francis, late one of the Council of Bengal, and a Passenger in the last arrived Ships.

To the Court of Directors.

Calcutta, December 12, 1780:

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ THE accounts you will receive of a duel be-
 “ tween Mr. Hastings and me, I presume
 “ will attract some degree of your attention. It
 “ concerns my honour and reputation, that the
 “ transaction

“ transaction should be accurately stated to you in
“ the first instance, and through you to the Com-
“ pany. It also concerns the Company's interest,
“ that the cause of this event, with all the public
“ acts or declarations of the Members of this
“ Council, immediately or remotely connected
“ with it, should appear fully before you. The
“ only fair and impartial method of bringing them
“ forward, is by laying before you, as I now do,
“ authentic extracts of such our proceedings, as
“ have a relation to them, without narrative or
“ comment

“ The papers I send you inclosed, are not only
“ necessary to possess you of the nature and occasion
“ of the personal difference between Mr Hastings
“ and me, but will give you such a view of the
“ state of the Company's affairs in this part of In-
“ dia, and of the measures which have produced it,
“ as I trust will make a deep impression on your
“ minds.

" stances, it is very difficult to say what plan is
 " likely to succeed, or what plan is free from ob-
 " jection. I shall contribute my advice and assist-
 " ance, as long as I continue in the Council, but
 " I will not embarrass the execution of measures,
 " which may prevail against my opinion, by a use-
 " less, perhaps a dangerous, opposition to it. My
 " efforts to prevent the distress which has fallen
 " upon your affairs, were exerted, without remis-
 " sion, during a long period, in which they might
 " have been of essential service to you, if they had
 " either been regarded here, or supported from
 " home. You suffered the Company's fundamental
 " principles of policy to be overthrown, your instruc-
 " tions to the Governor General and Council, to
 " be violated, and your own specific orders, in va-
 "rious instances, to be disobeyed with impunity.
 " You have heaped condemnation, from year to
 " year, on the Governor General, and another
 " Member of your Council, in the strongest terms
 " that ever were applied to men, possessing so high
 " a trust and station, and not instantly divested of
 " both. You have also been pleased to favour the
 " late Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr.
 " Wheeler, and me, with repeated assurances of
 " your approbation of our principles and conduct,
 " and with repeated promises of support. You have
 " given us reason to expect definitive orders and
 " regulations on many important subjects, which
 " have never been sent, particularly in an instance

" of the first magnitude and importance, in which
 " you have declared to us, " That the measures
 " which it might be necessary for you to take in
 " consequence thereof, in order to retrieve the ho-
 " nour of the Company, and to prevent the like
 " abuse from being practised in future, should
 " have your earliest, and most serious considera-
 " tion."

" At the end of six years, since the institution
 " of the present government, the concluding slate
 " of facts is, that the men whose conduct you have
 " so condemned, have never received any serious
 " proof of your displeasure; but on the contrary,
 " have been continued in trust and station, by a
 " new appointment, and the principles and mea-
 " sures which you have constantly reprobated,
 " have been suffered to prevail and operate, from
 " year to year, to their present conclusion, in the
 " face of your own orders and instructions, against
 " the most strenuous opposition in the Council;
 " and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances,
 " both public and private, accompanied with the
 " clearest explanations of the real state of affairs
 " here, which have been sent home by every means
 " in my power, since my arrival in the country.
 " Look back to the situation of your affairs, as
 " long as Sir John Clavering's efforts and mine,
 " had weight enough to preserve the peace of India,
 " to which, in the first article of our instructions,
 " you

" you ordered us to fix our attention, and compare it with that to which an opposite policy, permitted, if not encouraged, by yourselves, has reduced them. Every step that led from one to the other, was regularly marked to you as it was taken. Every event that has happened was foretold. I will not now predict to you what is likely to be the condition of all the Company's possessions in India ; at the time when you will receive this letter, you will have facts enough before you to judge for yourselves.

" The struggle to which I have dedicated my labours so long without effect, and in which I have sacrificed my repose, and the peace of my mind, to no purpose, is now at an end. In the course of three months, I mean to quit Bengal, and return to England, where it is possible my presence may be of some use to the Company, though it is of none here.

" I have the honour to be,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient humble Servant,
" (Signed) P. FRANCIS."

Though it would be loss of time, merely to inform you, Sir, who this Mr. Philip Francis is, others may not be so well read in Asiatic politics, therefore

" of the first magnitude and importance, in which
 " you have declared to us, " That the measures
 " which it might be necessary for you to take in
 " consequence thereof, in order to retrieve the ho-
 " nour of the Company, and to prevent the like
 " abuse from being practised in future, should
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 " year to year, to their present conclusion, in the
 " face of your own orders and instructions, against
 " the most strenuous opposition in the Council;
 " and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances,
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 " Look back to the situation of your affairs, as
 " long as Sir John Clavering's efforts and mine,
 " had weight enough to preserve the peace of India,
 " to which, in the first article of our instructions,
 " you

and just rights to the nomination of their own responsible servants; but the same power that created the Majority, found means to export them; and it was curious enough to observe three men, who, contrary to the interest, and to the inclination of many thousand people, were forced upon them to manage several millions of their property, steal out of the kingdom like felons or transports. The western world had been gorged with the filthy offal of a luxurious nation; Ministry wanted an addition of patronage to still the clamour of greedy sycophants, and it was sought for in the East: One ship conveyed the majority of the civil and military government, whose power, in those departments, was bounded only by their will and pleasure. Another ship, pressed down to the water's edge, with the weight of the judges, the charter of justice, legions of lawyers, and myriads of law-books, departed at the same instant. Two such cargoes, so pregnant with mischief, never before left the kingdom; and but for the virtues, moderation, and temper of one great man, Governor General Hastings, it might now have been said of the eastern section of the globe, as it is of the western, Britain once held powerful provinces in those distant regions. But that grand left wing of this once mighty, but, I fear, now falling empire, remains, and may remain, if the wisdom of the present generation will but think and judge for themselves, and not suffer the partial reports of

therefore I think that a simple and concise recapitulation of certain facts, will be necessary to an explanation of the curious assertions in the above letter, which you have honoured with a place in the report.

In that year of grand experiments 1774, when the evil genius of Great Britain, rode triumphant over the national councils, and spread a spirit of discontent and disunion, in all the provinces of the empire, oriental and occidental, from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, the legislature thought proper to divest that great body of merchants, the East India Company, of the right of appointing their own immediate and principal servants, for the government of their affairs in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. General John Clavering, Colonel George Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, a clerk from the war-office, were singled out by Ministry, and appointed with Messrs. Hastings and Barwell, to form a Council General, with a controlling power over all the other Presidencies in India. They were to hold their appointments, and succeed in turn to the government, independent of the Company, for the space of five years.

This extraordinary interposition of the legislative power, did not pass without some struggles made by the Company, to maintain their natural and

and just rights to the nomination of their own responsible servants; but the same power that created the Majority, found means to export them; and it was curious enough to observe three men, who, contrary to the interest, and to the inclination of many thousand people, were forced upon them to manage several millions of their property, steal out of the kingdom like felons or transports. The western world had been gorged with the filthy offal of a luxurious nation; Ministry wanted an addition of patronage to still the clamour of greedy sycophants, and it was sought for in the East. One ship conveyed the majority of the civil and military government, whose power, in those departments, was bounded only by their will and pleasure. Another ship, pressed down to the water's edge, with the weight of the judges, the charter of justice, legions of lawyers, and multitudes of law-books, departed at the same instant. Two such cargoes, so pregnant with mischief, never before left the kingdom; and but for the virtues, moderation, and temper of one great man, Governor General Hastings, it might now have been said of the eastern section of the globe, as it is of the western, Britain once held powerful provinces in those distant regions. But that grand left wing of this once mighty, but, I fear, now falling empire, remains, and may remain, if the wisdom of the present generation will but think and judge for themselves, and not suffer the partial reports of

a few interested individuals to mislead their understanding.

‘AFTER a passage of not quite six months, those banes to the future prosperity of the provinces, and to the peace and good government of the inhabitants of Bengal, landed at Calcutta, on the 19th day of October, 1774. At the very first meeting of the General Council to do business, the fifth day after their arrival, a rigid, intemperate, and inveterate opposition took place; not only to the motions of the Governor General, for the purpose of carrying on the current business, but also the most severe scrutiny was made, as well as a retrospective view taken, into the measures of the late administration. Measures which had, in part, been recommended by the Court of Directors, and the whole of which had been referred to them, for their approbation or disapproval, and with which the Majority had nothing to do, having no responsibility for their consequences. But their intention to drive the Governor General out of the chair, was rancorously pursued, if not openly avowed. I shall, for the present, pass by my proofs of the above assertion, in order to come directly to the true cause of Mr. Francis’s writing the above Letter, so honourably made a number in the appendix to the report of the Committee.

THE Majority having determined to use every means in their power to remove Mr. Hastings from the government, innumerable were the charges of crimes of all denominations, which they collected against him, and sent home to the Ministry, and to the Company, in every ship that was dispatched, from their first arrival in October, 1774, to the sailing of the Anson in April, 1775, the last ship of that season from Bengal; or, as Mr. Francis more quaintly expresses it, " by every mode of conveyance."

SUCH an accumulation of heavy charges, collected together in so short a time, against the Governor General, by men of such established characters as General Clavering and Colonel Monson, alarmed every body at home; and no arts were neglected to scatter and impress them on the minds of the people throughout the nation.

THE breach of treaty with the Princes of Hindoostan, by which the national honour was sullied; the involving the country in a bloody, expensive, and endless war; the employing the Company's army to extirpate, root out, and annihilate whole nations of people; the having, in the course of thirty months, accumulated half a million of money, by every mode of oppression and peculation, for his own private use and emolument; the prodigious waste of the Company's treasures, to gratify

tify the avarice of his friends and dependents, with innumerable other charges amassed together, in whole volumes, in order to crush the Governor General, by the weight of their accusations; not one of which has been proved to this hour, or ever was intended to be proved, as I shall make appear in the course of this Letter.

IT was soon seen in Europe, that the new and old members in the administration of the government of Bengal, would never draw together, and consequently, parties were formed in support of both divisions. The Ministry, who had created the Majority, were bound to the friends of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, to support them in their power, (for Mr. Francis, let him say what he will, was too insignificant to be known or to be remembered in Europe; his importance grew out of his having a vote in the Council at Bengal, which turned the scale there) and the whole weight of ministerial influence was thrown into the balance in Leadenhall street, and a majority of the Directors wrought upon, to move the Proprietors at a General Court, to address the King to remove Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal, but the independent Proprietors, to their everlasting honour, at two general meetings, called expressly for the purpose, refused to condemn a man unheard, who had served them for twenty-four years, without

out one single criminal act having been until that time brought against him.

THE friends of the Majority having failed in that mode of attack, and the influence of the General's and Colonel's interest continuing to operate, the majority of the Court of Directors had in charge to use the powers of their executive authority, to endeavour to drive Mr. Hastings out of the chair, by the mere dint of their severity, of observation and condemnation of measures, long since passed, and most, if not all of them, examined and approved by themselves, or their immediate predecessors; but this was before they had come to a knowledge, that the support of a particular party of men in their foreign service, was necessary to the preservation of, and continuance in their own seats, at home. Bitter, cruel, unjust, and pointedly severe, was every one of their Letters to Bengal, against the Governor's formerly approved conduct, during the years 1775 and 1776; and nothing but a consciousness of innocence, an integrity of soul, and a resolution not be paralleled, could have supported him against the pitiless pelting of such merciless masters.

IN September, 1776, Colonel Monson died, and gave some time to the Governor General to amend and correct the Company's deranged affairs, which had, from October 1774, been suffered to run

into great disorder, whilst the two leading men in the majority of government, had nothing in their minds, in their heads, or at their hearts, but the driving Mr. Hastings out of their way. Mr. Francis, indeed, made better use of his time, and his temporary importance, to serve himself and friends, as I may take occasion to mention. At home, a fixed determination had taken place, that General Clavering should have the government as soon as possible, and a gentleman was fixed on to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Colonel Monson, who had been Chairman of the Court of Directors, and taken an active part against Mr. Hastings. However, he did not arrive at Bengal, until after the death of General Clavering, who had, in August, 1777, fallen a sacrifice to disorders, brought on by an intense application to an object which had kept his mind constantly disturbed, and his blood, in a degree of fermentation, inevitably destructive to a man at General Clavering's advanced period of life, in so inclement a climate.

CHRISTIAN charity compels me to hope, that General Clavering and Mr. Monson firmly believed all the idle stories, that they heard of the conduct of Mr. Hastings from interested men, otherwise, how are we to account for their having adopted them for their own, by entering of them upon the face of the Company's records, writing accounts of them to the Ministry and their other friends

friends in Europe, and aiding, abetting, and promoting the circulation of them amongst all orders of men, throughout, not only this nation, and the continent of Europe, but into the cabinets of all the Asiatic Princes, on the peninsula of Hindoostan? That they did so, is certain, that the injury done thereby to the interest of this nation in Asia, is notorious, and that the effects of their assertions, continue to operate on the minds of some men in this country, are seen by many expressions in the report of the Committee, where Mr. Francis constantly attends, and with his usual audacity, continues to assert, what he neither has, or can prove.

SHALL I then, who feel for the mangled honour of an absent man, be afraid to come forward in support of his innocence, because the dead wanted charity, and the living are driven on by principles which they dare not avouch, to destroy his character in the opinion of his Sovereign and fellow subjects? Never. Let party rage and malevolence split their venom, covered as I am in a coat of mail, formed of truth, I stand invulnerable to all their poisoned shafts, whilst I go on to bare to the bone, the motives of the dead, and of the living, which induced, and continue to induce, the former, and the present two or three, who have linked together in the spirit of party, to blacken the unspotted character of one of the greatest subjects the King hath to boast of.

THE opposition to every plan of Mr. Hastings went on at Bengal, headed by Mr. Francis, and supported by Mr. Wheeler, and was continued to be countenanced by the managers from home, until the news arrived of the demise of General Clavering: then, and not till then, the spirit of opposition was discontinued in Leadenhall street, by orders from the west end of the town. His competitor for the government having ceased to exist, the abilities and the integrity of Mr. Hastings, were allowed to have their due weight; for the time approaching, when the temporary act which appointed him Governor General for the affairs of the Company at Bengal, for five years, was about to expire, another act to continue him in the chair for the year eighty, passed into a law, with the consent of all parties.

At Bengal the ball was kept up; the constant abuse which had been heaped on Mr. Hastings; in all the correspondence from home, from the end of 1775 to the middle of 1777, was not observed to have entirely subsided in Europe, as soon as it was known there that General Clavering was dead.

sooner should the new General arrive, but he would join the opposition, and that on the expiration of the regulating act in 1779, another would take place, fixing Mr. Francis in the government, from which moment the loaves and the fishes would be all their own.

THERE were several causes that concurred to induce Mr. Francis to believe what he said; first, his being one of the Majority which had, for so long a time, laboured the removal of the Governor General; every sentence in the Letters from Europe, condemning the conduct of that Gentleman, implied commendation of his own: secondly, the death of Colonel Monson had brought him still nearer to General Clavering, and it had grown into a custom, both at home and abroad, to link their names together, as men stedfastly supporting one another: thirdly, Mr. Wheler adhering, on his arrival at Bengal, to the same interest, placed Mr. Francis at the head of the party: and lastly, he conceived, that the Court of Directors had, in many instances, condemned the former conduct of the Governor General too pointedly, to give up the pursuit of driving of him out of the chair. All these circumstances, added to his vast self-importance, formed the idea in his mind, that he was the fly on the wheel, who had raised all this dust.

THE next ship, - the next ship, and the next ship, that should arrive, would most certainly bring out his appointment to the government. The change of tone in the Letters from the India House, recommending unanimity in their councils, passed unobserved. Nothing would go down with Mr. Francis and his friends, but that his abilities were become so necessary to the preservation of the Asiatic provinces, that Parliament would, *nem. con.* pass an act, to fix him with unbounded powers in the government. Sweet delusion of the mind! by which so many of us become Generals, Admirals, Kings, and Emperors. What pity, that a little human certainty, in one moment of time, blasts all our aerial hopes, and drives us back upon ourselves! A packet over land arrived, and brought advice, that a temporary act had passed into a law, leaving things in Asia, for the present, just as they were.

Now, Sir, be so kind as to turn back to Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors, and see with this honest and simple clue, which I have given to you, whether you will not be able to discover what turn of mind he was in when he wrote it.

• *Transcrib. The Letter is addressed to the Court of Directors from Bengal, as containing matter of important information in the affairs of the Company.*

pany, copies were also sent at the same time, to his private friends, and inserted in all the daily papers, long before his own arrival. There was certainly a want of decorum in this, when it is remembered, that he charges them in unequivocal terms, with a constant deviation from their true line of duty. That is, whilst their Letters condemned the conduct of one of their oldest and most approved servants, and supported the measures of General Clavering and himself, all was right; but when they returned to approve what they had no real cause to condemn, direct abuse was all they had to expect from Mr. Francis. He tells them he had, during the whole time of his residing in Bengal, furnished them, by every mode of conveyance, with every information in his power, and that he was about to quit it. What further intelligence had he to communicate, but what they already knew? for their advices from Bengal; which had lately come to hand, were of much later date than the time he left that place. Why then press so hard for an audience with a body of men, whom, in their corporate and official capacity, he had so lately insulted in the face of the nation? Mr. Francis had gotten into their service without their consent, had made a princely fortune in it without their complaining, and left it without their permission. In continuing Mr. Hastings in the government of their affairs, no injury could be done to him, whose breech smarted

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smarted in his father's school for his false construction of Horace, many years after the Governor had been resident at the Durbar of Cossim Ally Cawn, where, if his mind had been bent on the accumulation of money, he might now have rivalled certain Baronets in splendor, and not have been in the way to have furnished matter of false information to Mr. Francis. Was the post of second in the Council General, of Bengal obtained in five years, from being a Clerk in the War Office, too little for his ambition? and was the continuing in the government too much for Mr. Hastings, after thirty years services? But we must make great allowances for a man, whose consummate vanity induced him, in a fit of the spleen, to quit so important a station, to which he now looks back in the bitterness of his soul! Such a man, in such a situation, falling back by degrees, to his original rank and station of life, must feel the most bitter pangs of malicious disappointment. His pride makes him look down on his quondam acquaintance, who have not been so fortunate; and those with whom his vanity would induce him to associate, look down on him; and he has nothing left for it, but to run to Westminster, to play^{*} at question and command, where his spleen is fed with the idea, of his having some importance left yet, because the ready answers he gives, gratifies the political intentions of men, who most certainly hold him in contempt.

WHEN you condescended, Sir, to ask him if he was the author of a Letter which appeared in the public papers, dated Calcutta, December the 12th, 1780, signed Philip Francis, it would not have been much more degradation of your dignity, to have put another question to him of the same nature, viz. Whether he was, or was not, the identical Philip Francis, to whom a Letter had been addressed by one Captain Price, charging him, in the most pointed and direct terms, with having been guilty of every thing of which a gentleman should have been ashamed, and publickly sold in the booksellers shops of London and Westminster. In what, Sir, would have consisted the difference of the two questions? for, in my opinion, neither of them contain much parliamentary information, which I presume, is the business you have in hand.

BUT my particular business with you, Sir, is to prove, that there is nothing new or singular in the famous Letter, No. 2, of your appendix; for Mr. Francis entered Bengal with the same sour sullen determination, not only to condemn the prior administration of Mr. Hastings, but to draw from it the same gloomy conclusion, which occupied his mind as his returnings way, that the Court of Directors must prepare themselves to hear very shortly, of the final ruin and destruction of Bengal. I shall take my first quotation, Sir, from the very

first Letter that the Majority wrote to the Court of Directors, and that in a few days after their arrival at Calcutta. It is, Sir, the last paragraph of a very long Letter, all in the same stile of despondence, and I shall contrast with it, a sentence of the Letter you have thought proper to immortalize.—With what justice to the Governor General, or credit to the Committee, it does not become me to determine.

November 30, 1774.

“ THE true condition of this country cannot long be concealed; effects will be found before they are accounted for. When that happens, we foresee no difficulty in determining by what means, and by whose misconduct, a rich and flourishing state is reduced to the hazard, at least of beggary and ruin. The great and alarming question will be, by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a state can be recovered? Common men are not equal to the occasion.

“ J. CLAVERING,
“ GEO. MONSON,
“ P. FRANCIS.”

Calcutta,

Calcutta, December 22, 1780:

" **A**t the end of six years, since the institution of the present government, the concluding state of facts is, that the men, whose conduct you have so condemned, have never received any serious proof of your displeasure, but on the contrary, have been continued in trust and station by a new appointment; and the principles and measures which you have constantly reprobated, have been suffered to prevail and operate, from year to year, to their present conclusion, in the face of your own orders and instructions, against the most strenuous opposition in the Council; and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrance, both public and private, accompanied with the clearest explanations of the real state of affairs here, which have been sent home by every means in my power, since my arrival in the country. Look back to the situation of your affairs, as long as Sir John Clavering's efforts and mine, had weight enough to preserve the peace of India, to which, in the first article of our instructions, you ordered us to fix our attention, and compare it with that to which an opposite policy, permitted, if not encouraged, by yourselves, has reduced them. Every step that led from one to the other, was regularly marked to you as it was taken, every

" event

Francis to the Court of Directors, after his arrival at Bengal; and the other an extract from the last letter he wrote them before he left it. I shall take occasion to give you some further instances of this gentleman's talent at the pathetic. I must own that it makes me laugh, to see such a man's production, so seriously taken up by a detached body of lawmakers from the awful Senate of Great Britain, and brings to my mind a story I have heard of old Governor Boucher of Bomby. The old gentleman was very fond of a composition of weak liquor, much used by Europeans in Asia, called country beer. A European Captain of one of the Company's ships (who, by the bye, knew just as well what was proper for the preservation of the natural body in that country, as Mr. Francis doth of the means to preserve the political one) asked the Governor why he drank so much of that slow poison, country beer. "Very slow indeed," replies the old man; "I have used it these fifty years, and here I am yet".—I know, Sir, that you love a story, will apply it properly, and excuse me the digression.

I must now, Sir, beg your patience, whilst I take a retrospective view, as far back as to the time your honourable Chairman made his last and most lucrative voyage to India, the proceeds of which, has enabled him to look down with a haughtiness of contempt on his fellows, not un-

common in such a character, and to take the lead as a full-grown genuine Nabob, in bearding the old and honourable families of the kingdom.

In the year 1765, Lord Clive (spare his memory, you his envious contemporaries, until you have convinced us, that fewer human frailties have fallen to your share, than were to be found in the composition of that great man, and first of English soldiers) arrived for the last time at Bengal, convinced by woeful experience, that the Princes of the country were not to be trusted with the collection and disposal of the revenues, without involving the provinces in perpetual war, anarchy, and desolation. He therefore procured from the King, or Great Mogul, Shaw Allum, the grant of the dewanee for the Company, and thereby secured the peace of Bengal, from that hour to this. But what human foresight shall save us from political blunders and mistakes, and the dreadful consequences of private avarice and fraud, in the disbursement of public money? His Lordship's estimates of the annual receipts from the revenues, were candid, honest, clear, and fair: And could he have bequeathed us his own superior spirit, to have checked the disbursing hand, we had been safe; but instead of that, he left behind him, growing up to maturity, monsters of gigantic size, whose devouring maws the income of no revenue could satiate.

THE late war with Cossim Ally Cawa, had increased the expences of the army department immoderately. His Lordship had modelled it, and ascertained the fixed monthly expences pretty accurately. But ask your Chairman, who it is that shall draw a line for extraordinaries or contingencies, in the disbursements of a vast body of military men, who conceived that the wealth of the Company, acquired by their prowess, was inexhaustible? You are, Sir, too well read in the history of conquering states, and that of the human heart, not to know, that when generals must have their thousands, subalterns will scuffle for their hundreds. Add what figures you please to my numbers, the fact remains the same; nor will you, or your friend, mistake the inevitable conclusion.

THE New Fort, an immense undertaking, had hitherto gone on but slowly; but now orders were received to perfect that, and to complete the cantonments of Burrumpore, Dynapore, Budge-Budge, and other expensive undertakings in the military department.

THE managers at home, from his Lordship's representations, had been seized with a species of that enthusiastic madness, which had nearly ruined the national credit in the year 1720. The value of patronage ran high in Leadenhall-Street; and the

civil list, as well as the military, at Bengal, was overloaded with new adventurers, from counsellors to writers, and from generals to cadets. Every man put in for a share of the inexhaustible mine of treasure lately discovered at Bengal.

The government of that province was called upon to swell the cargoes of the homeward bound ships, to enable the Directors to divide amongst the Proprietors of the Stock, something in proportion to the ideas which had been formed of the advantages to be reaped from the acquisition of the de-wanee. At the same time they were enjoined to support and supply the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bencoolen, as well as the factors at China. All this the immediate successor of Lord Clive in the government, attempted during his administration, until government was distressed in every department, and the bonded debt at Bengal, was running fast up, including the deposits, to the uncommon amount of a million sterling. The easy, well meaning disposition of this gentleman, induced a relaxation of discipline, both in the military and civil service; begot a habit of expence, and a love for dissipation; which produced their constant attendants, collusive fraud, and peculation in office, in every department. This torrent of corruption, which he delivered over with the the government, to his virtuous and capable successor, was more than mere well natured honesty was capable to stem.

I pass particulars, to come at once to that tremendous visitation the famine, which completed the difficulties and embarrassment of government. If people are the riches of a nation, Bengal, at that dreadful period, lost a fourth of its temporary wealth.

In the end of 1765, Lord Clive had found that at Bengal, the expences, remittances, and outgoings of every denomination, amounted to the sum of 1,800,000*l.* per annum. In 1771, it amounted to 3,300,000*l.* And the neat income never exceeded 2,500,000*l.* Here is an annual deficiency of 800,000*l.* per annum. Your Chairman, Sir, acted in a very high station in the government, and had the command of the army at Bengal, for three years, in the very middle of that interesting period, that is, from the beginning of 1767, until the end of 1769, which was before the famine; will he say that he felt a conviction on his mind, that Bengal could not bear its then weight of expences? Or on what other principle was it, that he moved first, and supported with all his weight, in the Secret Committee, and in the Council, to draw bills on the Company, against their positive orders, for near a milion sterling, and then to get out of the country before their indignation could be felt?

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a channel of conveyance for a part of his own immense fortune, to the almost ruin of the men in whose service he acquired it, could never have been his real motive.

The managers at home, had speculated deeply themselves in the China trade ; and their struggles to keep ministerial influence out of Leadenhall-Street, had cost much private and public property. They were falling into arrears with government, with the bank of England, with the freight owners, and with their tradesmen, when the bills from Bengal, broke over their heads like a thunder storm.

In such critical situations, a change of hands in the ministerial department, is what all governments fly to for relief. Mr. Hastings was ordered from Madras, to take the government of Bengal ; not because the reigning Governor wanted either integrity or abilities for his station, but there are distressing situations in human affairs, to which governments are, from various causes, reduced, which require great masters in political exertion to repair. (*I believe, Sir, that you will not assent to that*)

When Bengal was to be conquered, and re-conquered, Clive, the immortal Clive, was the man, but he would himself, if now alive, yield the palm for political abilities, to Governor Hastings. Turn, Sir, to the Company's records (if political investigation be part of your present enquiry) and inform

inform the public fairly, what measures Mr. Hastings pursued for immediate relief. He turned the channel of remittance, which amounted to ~~shree~~ hundred thousand pounds per annum, sent out of the Bengal currency, to pay the troops in Sujah ul Dowlah's country, to an influx of double that sum for years together, from the Vizier's dominions into the Bengal provinces, besides obliging that ambitious, artful, but timerous Prince, to maintain a full third of the Company's army, to guard his country, and form a barrier for him, which he had neither the abilities or spirit to do for himself—Though this was the man that your friend, the *muster roll General*, was, or affected to be, afraid of, four or five years before, when he called out for a deputation, which cost the Company immense sums to carry into execution. Perhaps Mr. Hastings owes the present spleen of the man towards him, to the necessity he was under of shewing the pusillanimity of the measure. Mr. Hastings entered on the government in April 1772: he had the resolution to stop the whole of the King's stipend in the Company's coffers, who had wilfully removed out of their protection, and was plotting with their enemies to disturb their quiet, and to reduce the Nabobs a full half. The great investments for Europe were continued, and increased; the supplies and remittances to the Company's other settlements, were carefully transmitted. But I will produce a paper drawn up by a gentleman, whose

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rupees, of the heavy debt due by government at his accession the whole is advertised to be paid, and is in actual course of payment, there being sufficient for that purpose in the treasury, so that in 1776, there will not be a single incumbrance on this government The savings, and the new sources of revenue, arising to the Company from his good management, amount to one hundred and seven lack and fifty thousand rupees (107,50,000) per annum During his administration, the inland trade has been open to Europeans, natives, and men of every denomination, the greatest protection and encouragement given to inland, as well as to foreign traders, by which means the trade of this country has greatly increased since his accession to the chair He is the first Governor who has new modelled the form of government, by establishing salutary laws and regulations, for the administration of justice in the country courts, for conducting the revenue business, and for the internal government and police of this country The business of administration has been by him unravelled, and branched out into different departments It has been disentangled from that perplexity and confusion in which it was enveloped He has retrenched all unnecessary charges, he has formed establishments for all the different expences of government, which being checked and controlled in the most rigid manner, it is no longer in the power of those who disburse the money of the public, to defraud or impose on their employers

" Ready money actually received into the Calcutta treasury, on account of the treaties made with the Nabob of Oude, in various kinds of Rs. 76,00,000

Remaining due from the Nabob of Oude, part of which is actually on the road to Calcutta — — — 14,00,000

Which adds to the circulation in Bengal, of Specie, Seven Rupees of Oude — — 90,00,000.

Or Current Rupees 95,26,549 3

Which sum of Rupees, 95,26,549 3 6, valued at the exchange of 2s. 2d. it will appear that Mr. Hastings has added to the real wealth of this country — — — £.1,032,042 16

Debts paid off by Mr. Hastings:

On his accession, the bonded debt amounted to the sum of Cur. Rs. 135,39,960, with interest, of which he has already paid — — — 71,13,405

" The

71,13,40 $\frac{1}{2}$

"The remainder is advertised to be paid off, is in actual course of payment, and there is sufficient money to discharge it, set apart for that purpose" — 64,26,55 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total bonded debt discharged by Mr. Hastings — 135,39,96 $\frac{1}{2}$

Add the debt due to the claimants on the restitution, totally liquidated and paid off by Mr. Hastings — 13,00,000

Of the compensation to Col. Monto, has been paid 1,74,000

Total debts liquidated by Mr. Hastings — 150,13,960

Valued as above, at the exchange of 2s. 2d. amounts to £.1,626,51 $\frac{1}{2}$ 6

Annual savings, and new sources of revenue, arising to the Company, from the management of Mr. Hastings:

• *Savings*

" Savings on the civil and military establishments — 45,00,000

Revenue arising to the Company from salt — — 20,00,000

Ditto on opium — — 5,00,000

Board of customs, all inland chowkies, or petty custom-houses, abolished, which were a source of great vexation and oppression to the natives, and the duties collected by the board of customs, with ease to individuals, producing to government more than ever they did — — — 4,00,000

Rs. 74,00,000

Increase on the Calcutta customs, which must be an incontrovertible proof of the increase of trade during Mr. Hastings's administration — 2,50,000

Savings to the Company by the expence of a brigade being defrayed by the Nabob of Onde — — — 31,00,000

" Total

" Total amount of annual savings, and new sources of revenue, arising to the Company — — — 107,50,000

Which sum of Cur. Rs.
107,50,000, at 2s. 2d. each £.1,164,583 6 8

Cash and stores supplied the Company's other settlements, since the accession of Mr. Hastings, in April 1772, to the 25th of October 1775.

Cur. Rs: a. p.

To Bombay 50,26,377 14 0

Fort Marlborough 2,50,591 4 3

Balamban-gam — 10,11,741 12 9

Canton — 3,00,000 0 0

Total sent out, Cur. Rs. 66,18,710 15 0

Which at the exchange of 2s. 2d. is — — — £.717,027 0 4*l*.

In the foregoing paper, Sir, you have a fair account of exertions, and instances of a vigorous reform in administration, brought round in the space of three years, that would have saved the Company, and restored their affairs in every part of the globe: But the die was cast, and nothing that Mr. Hastings had done, or was about to do, could be known time enough in Europe, to stop for a moment, the hue and cry gone out throughout the land, against all sorts of persons that had served in India. Select and Secret Committees had been formed by the House of Commons: Your present Chairman, now a virtuous inquisitor, was then deemed a culprit. Some parliamentary chastisement, in a certain purgatory, has purged him of all his defects, and he is become a new man. How pure and immaculate Mr. Hastings passed that fiery ordeal, you know, Sir, better than I do. I only know that when his whole scope of conduct, as a public and private man, shall be fairly laid before the nation, no friend of his will have cause to blush for any action of his life. But a man so situated, must have numerous enemies. The loss of lucrative posts and employments to some, and the refusal of them to others, however necessary in the true discipline of government, is remembered with rancour and spleen for years to come, and not only creates, but multiplies enemies; whilst all the good things a gentleman in high station has to dispose of, are sunk and silently forgotten in that bottomless

pit and sink of ingratitude, a man's own importance, and self imagined merit.

WHEN the reports of the Committees came out, it appeared that Mr. Bolts's industry had operated in the manner that some think Mr. Francis's will do now. Your Chairman knows what kind of men the Armenians, or pretended agents, of Mr. Bolts, were, and how Bolts himself had acted in India, as well as I know how Mr. Francis has acted there. Give us but a fair investigation into the Governor General's conduct, it will soon destroy the effects of this your partial taking up.

THOUGH I detest and abominate the principles on which Bolts has acted in every part of his life, and am convinced that he is now misleading the Germans, as heretofore the English, yet I will not insult his understanding, by comparing his mercantile and political knowledge in the affairs of Hindooostan, with that of Mr. Francis. Born with a talent or faculty of learning languages, he acquired with facility, the most difficult, whether of the dead or of the living, in less time than most other men. To this rare accomplishment, he added an invincible perseverance of industry, and curiosity of investigation. Go on shore where he will, in Europe or in Asia, he talks with the rulers of the land in their own tongue, and draws his information from the fountain head. What an advantage

is this to an enterprising genius ! I wish somebody was at hand, who has more knowledge of the man than I have, to finish the character, by asserting that he possesses an honest heart.

SEE Mr. Francis on his arrival at Bengal, sitting at his writing desk, wrapt up in the idea of his having become the fifth part of a king, taking his political information from a Banyan, standing and bowing at awful distance, and no better versed in the English language, than the famous talking parrot at Wood's Hotel, under the piazza in Covent Garden ; or at best from some disappointed servile countryman, whose spleen to the Governor General, betrayed him into giving interesting or fallacious advice. Then attend this important man, so instructed, to the council chamber ; and hear him, the fifth day after his arrival, disputing against, and over-ruling the political knowledge of the Governor General. But surely we have now done with experiments, and shall send no more full grown politicians from war offices, or other offices, to mangle the King's English for months together, before they can obtain for themselves a glass of cold water, much less sufficient to carry on the affairs of government, without being dupes to the passions of some designing and interested individuals, whose business it is to deceive them, as was really the fate of this majority. If it would be deemed highly absurd, to send an ambassador to a foreign court,

without

without understanding one word of the language of the country, is it less so to send men to govern a vast empire, who are equally ignorant ?

But the Company had passed the rubicon; in engaging to pay to government, 400,000/. more than they could at that period afford; and at the same time make good the expected dividend to the Proprietors, and support their expences at home and abroad. The famine, which, throughout the nation, was thought to have been caused by an avaricious monopoly, and keeping up of the grain by the Company's servants at Bengal, had so soured the temper of the very best men in this kingdom, against all orders of Indians, that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon (as in times gone by, was the appellation he was known by) might, if he had been so inclined, have proscribed every denomination of his countrymen at Calcutta: But he is neither sanguinary, avaricious, ungenerous, malicious, or vindictive. His foibles have been the inherent weakness of the greatest men in all ages; fond of power, he was obliged to stoop to some unavoidable compliances to keep it. The patronage of the west was slipping through his fingers, and the moment was propitious to supply its place by that in the east. With affairs so circumstanced, and the Company pressed on all sides (more from the impatience of their lordly creditors, than a want of real ability, could they have been indulged

with a little time) to pay their debts, they were obliged to apply to government for relief; and the property which ought, in justice, never to have been extorted from them, was lent them for a time. But in that evil hour, the ministerial chain of influence encircled them round about. A set of new civil and military servants, and the dreadful apparatus of a monstrous judicial institution paid out of their treasury, and both independent of them, added to their annual expences 150,000*l.*—*A ministerial mode of easing their embarrassed circumstances!*

GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, accompanied by the Judges, left England in the Spring of 1774, in transport ships, provided by government, and nominally commanded by King's Lieutenants; for the Company had too great a sense of the injury done them by the Regulating Act, to submit willingly to the exportation in their own ships, of powers pregnant with so much mischief to their provinces abroad.

THEY landed safely at Calcutta on the 19th day of October. The same year, the Regulating Act, with the Charter of Justice, was publicly promulgated, and their several powers established with great order, peace, and solemnity; and Mr. Hastings, in reward for four and twenty years active and faithful services, had a feather Ruck in his cap, by

by being in the act denominated Governor General, instead of the former appellation of Governor and President of the Council ; but his power and influence was as effectually done away, as if he had been dismissed from the service ; except the chance of survivorship, which ultimately saved the Company in Bengal.

I MUST for a moment wander into the shade of conjecture, but it shall not be for a long continuance, or strained beyond the bounds of extreme probability. Ideal supposition, void of sound reasoning, and soaring into the regions of fiction, beyond the ken of possibility, I leave to Mr. Francis.

BEFORE the triumvirate had left Europe, it had become a general and prevailing opinion here, that a gentleman who had held the government of Bengal for three years, would be no way displeased at having a decent opportunity given him to return home, in order to enjoy the immense fortune, which the bountiful people of this country always bestow on them. What contributed to the fixing these ideas in peoples minds, was the singular circumstance, that not one man had continued in the chair at that Presidency, full three years, since we had been obliged to conquer that country in self defence.

THE Regulating Act had appointed the Governor and Council for five years; but the Governor, or either of the Counsellors, might resign if they pleased; though no provision was made to supply a vacancy, however caused, but by an appeal thro' the Company to the King, and by this oversight, the Ministry, in some measure, defeated their own intention, of governing Bengal in future, by a set of their own creatures; for providence interposed, and gave back the government into the hands of the man of the Company's own choice.

GENERAL John Clavering was, as I have heard, at the time he left England, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in command of a regiment, in possession of a government, of high rank in the army, and easy in his fortune: Would he, so circumstanced, have gone to India, had he conceived that he should have to stay five years for the government?

COLONEL George Monson had once commanded an army in India, had a rooted dislike to the country, it never having agreed with him, and would not have left England, had it come to his turn to have had a regiment in the King's service. I conclude therefore, that he would not have passed into Asia, with the idea of waiting five years for the command of the army, which he must have done, had the General lived so long without the chair.

As to Mr. Francis, circumstanced and situated in life as he was, 10,000*l* per annum, was worth going any where for.

It has been asserted, and in some degree I believe it was true, that on their arrival in the river of Bengal, some furious malcontents got round them, and misrepresented every circumstance of Mr. Hastings's public and private conduct, as having a strong bias to the gratification of his boundless avarice. These men had been vexed and disappointed, by the Governor's schemes of economy in his late arrangements. But it is contrary to every man's experience, nay, it is contrary to nature, to suppose that the Majority, composed of old and experienced men, trammelled in the ways of the court, the camp, and the city, would instantly imbibe the prejudices and passions of strangers, (*uninfluenced so to do, by some private views of their own,*) against a man in so high and important a station, with whom they were to act in the affairs of government, and whose character, to use their own words, "stood so high in the opinion of the world." It is, however, no less singular than true, that the three new gentlemen never did sit down to a social or friendly meal with the Governor, except on the first day that they landed ; and even in the evening of that day, stories were circulated about the town, of their being highly disappointed and disgusted, at the manner

manner of their reception,* with remarks and circumstances so contemptibly low, and pitifully minute, that was as far beneath them to countenance, in the manner they certainly did the following days, as it is for me to repeat, or for you to hear. But the mind of man is restlessly inquisitive. An instant breach between the two members of the old administration, and the three members which were to complete, and, by their numbers, direct the new government, was known, and talked of in the settlement, even before they met in council to do business, and the vanity of each individual induced them to fancy, and to report, what they thought was the cause.

THAT these whisperings and idle stories, served to enrage the parties, helped to keep them asunder, and prevented timely explanation, may be true; but we must look into the human heart, and attend to certain facts, and there we shall directly find the original cause for the sudden and extraordinary conduct of the Majority towards the Governor General. No men could know better than the Majority did, who had left England so recently, how

" " The complaints of the Majority, that they were not received
 " " with proper ceremonies, was mentioned to me personally, by
 " " Mr Francis, and the offence they had taken on that account,
 " " was the subject of conversation in public company "

See Mr. Hastings's remarks on some minutes of the Majority.

highly

highly inflamed the minds of all orders of men in this kingdom, were against their fellow subjects in Asia. Their peculation, and, in the case of Bolts, violent proceedings, had been brought home to direct proof, (which your Chairman, Sir, ought never to forget,) and the causes of the famine were laid directly to their account. Nor did it escape the Majority, that if it should square with their politics, to write whom any the most infamous accounts of the conduct of the managers they found in India, it would in general be believed here. But to come to what I think was the two leading and true causes of their positive and declared resolution, of making Mr. Hastings so uneasy in the government, that he should not long continue in their way.

THEY had, Sir, on their passage out, stopped at Madras, where Mr. Hastings's true character was well known. There, to their astonishment, they learnt, that during his whole life, he had shewn the most open, disinterested, and real contempt of money. That the humanity and forgiveness of his disposition, enabled him to correct abuses in government, without making to himself many enemies; and that his charity was so boundless, and his heart so open to every attack from misery and distress, that it had always kept him without much command of money, and that he was at that time known to be so far from having made a fortune, that

that he had not cleared off some incumbrances, which hung on him during his whole stay at Madras.

HAD I your power, Sir, and his permission, I could go into a tale of facts and circumstances, of his high generosity and humanity, in support of the assertions of the Madras inhabitants, as should leave not an unbeliever, as to this part of his character, in this kingdom, *your present friends and their supporters always excepted.*

On their way from Fort St. George to Bengal, the triumvirate had time to ruminate on what they had heard from all sorts of people during their stay at Madras. Perhaps no resolution was formed, until on their first arrival in the river. General Clavering was visited by an old and silver headed sage of his former acquaintance. This man was, from recent disputes with the Governor, furious against him to a degree of madness; and the ships being many days coming up to town, full time was given to infuse his own ideas into the Majority. He had, though not then in the Company's service, a competent knowledge of the political situation of their affairs. He gave in a list of names, of every man of eminence in the service, and placed their characters opposite, drawn through the mist of his own inflamed passions. With such an instrument in their possession, they landed. Not a

man was suffered to approach them, but such as were recommended by this violent statesman, who was appointed the General's Persian translator; and who was considered by the whole party, as the *premier* of the new government. No friends of Mr. Hastings, either black or white, could come near them; nor dare a word of truth, or moderation, enter their doors: they were as completely surrounded by spies and informers, as any the most weak Prince mentioned in history, has been in his palace. No single step was taken by the Governor, in his public or private capacity, but what was directly misrepresented. Even his virtues were turned against him, without a particle of pride, ostentation, or vanity, in his composition: His neglect of state and parade, which he copied from the good man his predecessor, as congenial with his own feelings, had begot a freedom, ease, and neglect of ceremony, in the military and civil departments of state, and in the officers of his household; that was called fear of exacting his right to kingly respect, from a consciousness of guilt. Whilst he thought of nothing but how the gentlemen should be brought on shore with ease and convenience, and be politely and respectfully received, by some members of the then administration, at a landing place near the government house, our Machivaelian Counsellor was pointing out to them the horrid neglect, and premeditated insult, of their not being ushered through the New Fort, in all the pomp of military

military parade and exhibition. The very silence of the people, was said to have been the effects of management; as if any human being could have influence enough to restrain the huzzas, and other symptoms of applause, in forty thousand of the promiscuous inhabitants of any civilized nation upon the earth, if they felt an impulse so to express their approbation.

It happened (though this also has been wrongfully stated) that Mr. Barwell, the fourth in rank of the New Council, and a Member of the old, did not arrive from his late Chiefship of Dacca, until four days after the Majority had come to Calcutta. In the interim, Mr. Hastings had signified his intention to lay before them, at the first meeting of Council, a retrospective view of his past measures, and future plans, for completing the relief of the Company's embarrassments in Europe and Asia, and with his usual candour declared, that he had neither inclination or intention to quit the country, until the whole should be perfected.

THE character which they had heard of the Governor at Madras, his present honest, though impolitic and premature, declaration of his intention to remain in the chair, his well known, and constantly avowed, predilection for the climate of Asia, in preference to that of Europe; his ambition of raising himself high in the opinion of his Sovereign and

and countrymen, (the only crime I ever with justice heard laid to his charge;) the incessant assurances of the new Minister to the Majority, that if they would begin the attack, he would furnish the proofs of the Governor's guilt, and thereby enable them to drive him out of the chair; do certainly furnish us with some leading clue, for finding out the cause of their sudden and violent enmity, to every action of Mr. Hastings, and the late administration.

WITHOUT intention to criminate the dead or the living, I am inevitably led, by my desire to defend the honour of an absent and innocent man, against the effects of the barbarous insinuations held up in your report, I shall, regardless of consequences to myself, of private or public resentment, probe facts to the bottom, in search of motives to actions, that are not other ways to be accounted for.*

* " We pretend not to look into the hearts of others, but we exercise the right allowed to all mankind, of judging of intentions by facts."

For defence of charges against Governor Gen. Hastings, by

J. Clavering.

Geo. Monson.

P. Francis.

N. B. No bad authority on which to establish a right of examining their intentions by facts.

I THINK then that General Clavering had in him strong symptoms of that vice of old age, *avarice*. I have heard that when he left England, his regiment in the King's service, was continued to him; his sinecurial government not taken away; his private fortune ample; his civil and military appointments in the East India Company's service, amounted to 16,000*l.* per annum; (considerably more than the immortal Clive ever had given to him by this country, or by the Company;) yet that he did from the Island of Madeira, on his way to India, solicit the India Company for more.

GENERAL Clavering might easily calculate how much his severe economy would have enabled him to save in five years, from his 16,000*l.* per annum; but it is not in the nature of avarice, to feel contented with limited ideas of acquiring wealth. I neither say, or intend to be understood to mean, that General Clavering was not a man of rigid honesty: That he would not rob a treasury, or take even a sixpence which was not legally his right, I most seriously believe: But the Governor's salary exceeded his, by the tempting sum of 900*l.* a year: And there are fascinations which encircle the plenitude of power, that subdue the minds of the sons of men in such a manner, that it will require the whole grace and mercy of heaven, to save some of us from perdition. Add to this, that he had seen partly on record, and heard every day from the

lips of tradition, that a certain predecessor in the command of the Bengal army, (look round you, Sir,) had, in the space of three years, scraped together, without ever having seen a public enemy, more than double of the whole of his five years allowance.

COLONEL Monson left no fortune behind him in Europe, to accumulate in his absence. He was a man of high and hospitable household expence; and so determined against receiving of presents, that he would not only not touch a nazier, (a few silver rupees, or perhaps a gold mahor, always presented by country gentlemen, according to their rank, on their first introduction to their superiors, as a mark of respect, the refusal of which, hath ever been deemed a kind of insult to, or foolish deviation from, the established usages or customs of the country,) but sent back to a well meaning Englishman, a piece of fed beef, presented, because not to be bought in the common markets. With such determination against the very scraps of homely bribery, and princely notions of the necessity of the pomp and parade of state, equal to his idea of his rank, what, at so expensive a place as Calcutta, could the Colonel save out of 10,000*l.* per annum? Positively nothing.*

Tus

* " In obedience to the prohibition in the Act of Parliament,
" we have refused all naziers or presents whatever. The Gover-
" nor

The idea of coming at the end of five years, to the command of the army, could have conveyed no gratification of ambition, to the mind of Colonel Monson. He had commanded a more powerful army in Asia, many years before, at the siege of Pondicherry, and only did not command it at the reduction of that place, from his having been badly wounded, in gallantly leading on the grenadiers to the storm of the Bound Hedge; and was obliged to leave it to the command of Colonel (now Sir Eyre) Coote: therefore, his being to labour in an unwholesome climate, every way disagreeable to him, for so long a time, for a bare maintenance, held up no very pleasing prospect, to a quick, impatient, and lively mind.

As to Mr. Francis, his casting vote raised him (to speak in his own phrase) from the fraction of a king to monarchy itself; and he suffered not to go by, the glorious opportunity of serving very am-

" nor General has given his reason for accepting such basiers, and
" paying them into the Company's treasury.

Separate Letter from General Clavering, Col. Monson,
and Mr. Francis, to the Court of Directors, for the
affairs of the honourable united East India Company.

Fort William, November 30th, 1774.

Query: Are you able to keep steady the muscles of your face, Sir,
on reading the above ridiculous and ostentatious display of mere
legal honesty so tightly laced:—Outrageous virtue in the sons of
Adam, ought always to be suspected, in what ever shape it appears.

ply,

ply, himself, his relations, his dependents, and his particular friends. I push not this argument nearly so far as it would bear ; recrimination is no part of my design, further than to explain motives past, and present intentions. I envy not the General, his Persian translator, the venal lawyer, or the willing evidence, their wealth and seats in the senate house, however acquired ; but I feel disgusted at seeing them supported in their diabolical plans, by a man so capable of giving weight to any cause, as you, Sir, most certainly are.

WITH such explanations of the views and dispositions of the Majority ; with such a concise, and, I hope, clear retrospect of the state of affairs at home and abroad ; with the account I have given you (not to be controverted) of the declared sentiments of the triumvirate, not to hold familiar converse with, or give countenance to, any, but such as implicitly condemned every measure of the late administration ; you will be, Sir, at no loss to guess what sort of men, of all castes and conditions, such avowed principles of action, were likely to draw round them.

I RETURN now to my promise ; that is, to bring proof that the letters which you have honoured with an exhibition in the appendix to the report, No. 7 and 8, signed Philip Francis, contain no new matter, nor one single assertion which has not been

been refuted, or that are every day going on to be refuted, 'by accounts received from India. So that nothing can save him from the contempt of even you and your Committee, Sir, but a cruel reverse of fortune in our Asiatic affairs, which he, and such men as he, are now praying for. Nothing would be more cordial to their minds, than to hear of the total defeat of our armies under the Generals Góddard and Coote, the loss of Bombay to the French, of the Carnatic to Hyder Ally Cawn, and an invasion of the Bengal provinces, by the united forces of the Nizam, or Subah of the Deccan, the Paishwah, and Rajah of Berar, (the two great branches of the Mahratta empire,) with Hyder Ally Cawn, and the whole to be headed by the French from the Islands: But the prayers of the wicked shall not prevail.

To the reasons which I have deduced, to shew the unremitting assiduity of the persons employed by the Majority, who directed the mode of attack, and determined the commencement of it, on the very first meeting of Council, I shall subjoin a few quotations from the letters, which they wrote to the Court of Directors, from the 25th of October, six days after their arrival in Calcutta, to the 23d of April, the time of sailing of the last ship of the season, when they hoped that the extraordinary and voluminous collection of vague charges and bold assertions, which they had, by the means of their

prime minister and his agents, collected together, vilifying the conduct and principles of the Governor General, would of themselves bring about his recall from the government, without one particle of proof being waited for or required. For the extracts from their letters, I must refer you to the Appendix, (for I also have an Appendix,) No. 1.

THE quotations have been selected from several hundreds of the same stamp which you may find on the Company's records, purely with intent to shew you, Sir, that the Majority, on their arrival at Calcutta, set out on one uniform plan of attack on the conduct of Mr. Hastings, grew warm as they advanced, until their zeal degenerated into the most unpardonable scurrility, and personal abuse; in which temper of mind, two of them sunk into the grave; and the other lives, only to continue the same extraordinary mode of conduct, without ever having been able to establish one single fact, either at home or abroad.

IT may be supposed that Mr. Hastings did not suffer the whole of the voluminous charges exhibited against him, to pass unrefuted. But what share of abilities, what strength of mind and resolution, or what length of life, is equal to answer the monstrous calumnies, accumulated by such men as his opponents appear to have been, aided by a minister, who publicly opened a house for information, to

which 'resorted every villainous informer resident in a vast kingdom, male and female, black and white.

THE temper with which the Governor General bore all this, made people blush at the enormous violence of the Majority, who never blushed before. I will, Sir, present you with a few instances of his temper, in quotations from his remarks on the Majority's charges; not with intention to refute them, that has been already done, by the malice, the violence, the absurdity, want of charity, and total deviation from truth, in the men who drew them up, but to open your mind to an introduction of facts, that shall effectually do away the horrid insinuations contained in a part of the report, the dreadful tendency of which first induced me to take up the pen.—See remarks of Mr. Hastings, on the charges of the Majority, No. 2, Appendix.

WE come now, Sir, to that extraordinary mixture of assertion and insinuation, in the report of the Committee, which added to the foregoing and subsequent part of its contents, inevitably leads the mind of the reader to conclude, that Mr. Hastings was, directly or indirectly, concerned in the prosecution for forgery, of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, and in consequence of such his interposition, the man lost his life, on political, rather than on judicial principles, from the influence of party, more

* than

vant as Mr. Hastings. The two great and awful branches of the legislature, I most humbly conjure, not to be satisfied with partial representations, wh ch lead directly to criminate an absent man, unheard in his own defence.

1 1 - 1

Extracts from the Report of the Select Committee, page 49.

“ YOUR Committee, considering the safety of com-
 “ plaint, as the foundation of all redress to griev-
 “ ances, find themselves indispensably obliged
 “ to call the serious attention of the House, to
 “ the case referred to, in their Report of the last
 “ Session, page 59, namely, the case of the
 “ Rajah Nundcomar.

“ A NATIVE of the highest rank, and of an or-
 “ der reputed sacred throughout India, was capi-
 “ tally executed in the city of Calcutta, with cir-
 “ cumstances the most shocking to the prejudices
 “ of the people, and which conveyed, according
 “ to those prejudices, the idea of offence and insult
 “ to all classes of men. The crime for which this
 “ native was executed, namely, that of forgery, is
 “ not capital by the laws of that country, though,
 “ b, a statute made within this century, it has been
 “ made so in England. The criminal fact al-
 “ ledged, was, at that time, and had long been,

“ in

“ in a course of examination in a civil suit, the
 “ event of which was to be decided by the authen-
 “ ticity of the instrument, said to have been forg-
 “ ed. In so extraordinary a case, the execution
 “ of the sentence, might, and ought, to have
 “ been respite, until his Majesty’s pleasure should
 “ be known. The omission of such respite is the
 “ more to be noticed; because the Chief Justice,
 “ in his letter to the Earl of Rochford, of the 25th
 “ of March, 1775, complains, that “ he had al-
 “ ways felt great inconveniences, from being
 “ obliged to inflict upon offenders, the same punish-
 “ ments which are inflicted in England, for the
 “ same offences.” His first instance is in the appli-
 “ cation of the law of capital punishments. He
 “ certainly had it in his power to respite the sen-
 “ tence.

“ THE circumstance which brings this omission
 “ whom to the point at present under the observa-
 “ tion of your Committee, is this, That the Rajah,
 “ thus denied a respite, was, at the very time of
 “ his apprehension, under the protection of the
 “ Council, in the midst of his evidence against Mr:
 “ Hallings, the Governor General, on a charge of
 “ peculation, and abuse of his office, in taking mo-
 “ ney from the natives.

“ YOUR Committee has received it in evidence, that
 “ this trial and execution, was looked upon by many
 “ of

" of the natives as political : nor does the Committee
 " conceive it possible, that, combining all the
 " circumstances together, they should look upon
 " it in the light of a common judicial proceeding,
 " but must regard it as a politic measure, the ten-
 " dency of which is, to make the natives feel the
 " extreme hazard of accusing, or even giving evi-
 " dence of corrupt practices, against any British
 " subject in station, even though supported by other
 " British subjects of equal rank, and authority. It
 " will be rather a mockery, than a relief to the
 " natives, to see channels of justice opened to them,
 " at their great charge, both in the institution and
 " in the use, and then appeals, still more expen-
 " sive, carefully provided for them, when, at the
 " same time, practices are countenanced, which
 " render the resort to those remedies far more dan-
 " gerous, than a patient endurance of oppression,
 " under which they may labour."

FORMER committees have produced some posi-
 tive facts in support of their conjectural opinions,
 such as bribery, peculation, and other crimes,
 brought home against the culprit, which laid his
 honour and common honesty in the dust. With
 such undisputed facts before him, which, from
 their notoriety, force, and conviction on the mind,
 a reader of humanity, though he may not place
 implicit confidence in all the following conjectures
 of the examinants, yet will find himself prone to
 admit,

admit, that a man who has been guilty of one atrocious crime, may have gone on to commit others yet more flagitious.

Has this been the case in the present instance? Is the abandoned characters of his Majesty's Judges at Bengal, so fully established, as to justify a conclusion, going to the full extent applied in the above quotation from the report, that they have been capable of acting so culpable a part, in so blasted and diabolical a tragedy?

You are now, Sir, a Minister of State, mounted high on the wings of fortune, and basking in the sunshine of royal favour; in which exalted situation, I advance close up to your nose, and in the face of the nation, throw down my gauntlet of defiance at your feet, daring you to take it up, and produce proof, which shall be admitted in the courts below, that in the whole course of the life of Governor General Hastings, in his public capacity, or as a private gentleman, he has been guilty of one single action, that will go to the justification of the crime implied in the above horrid insinuations, glancing as they do, directly at him.

THE inhabitants of Calcutta, Sir, well know the characters of your colleagues, (the Soldier, the Cutcherryman, and the Lawyer,) and will read the above parts of the report with the most ineffable contempt;

contempt ; well knowing that their moral characters are placed high above the reach of the insinuations of such a triumvirate, though aided by the parole evidence of a man, who seems to have been educated in the college of Nundcomar, hereafter to be spoken of, and who, with the addition only of a straw in his shoe, will become highly qualified to represent the electors of Cricklade in Parliament.

1
THE trial of the Rajah was published here, and has been, or may be, read, by every gentleman who shall be called to give an opinion on the subject matter of the report ; the merely judicial parts of which I studiously avoid, and shall speak only to the above quotation which has been extracted from it, and seems to imply that Mr Hastings was interested in the destruction of the man.

I do then confidently declare, that Mr. Hastings never had but one opinion of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, that he at all times held in utter detestation, the principles and character of the man, that he never did employ nor trust him, but at the express desire and command, of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors, and then with a cautious diffidence, that did not escape the Rajah's penetration, all which will appear to the conviction of any unbiassed person, who has candour enough to peruse with impartiality, the cloud of unimpeachable evidence, which I have collected toge-
ther

ther-in the Appendix, No. 3 ; every particle of which had been transmitted to Europe, and was on the face of the Company's records, before it was known in Bengal, that the Majority were coming to India, or that the Governor could know (except by inspiration) that the man whose vices he had so fully and completely descried, would be one of the instruments used by the Majority to attempt his own destruction. When the reader has perused the papers in the Appendix, on the subject in hand, I would appeal to his candour to know, whether he does imagine that a Governor of Bengal, with the experience and abilities of Mr. Hastings, would, if he intended to raise a fortune by indirect means, employ such a man as Nundcomar to effect it for him, or trust, in so dangerous a piece of mal-administration, the friends, dependents, and connections, of such a Minister ?

If Mr. Hastings had any interest at all in the case, it must have been that the man should live, to have attempted the establishing of his pretended charges against him in the Supreme Court of Judicature, in the doing of which, his villainy must have appeared on that, as on every other occasion. But that was not what the Majority really intended. They were no strangers to the Rajah's true character, and wanted only to use him as an instrument, to insult the Governor in the eyes of the settlement, and for that reason he was introduced by

Mr. Francis into the council chamber, while the Governor General was seated in the chair of state.

I must go, Sir, a little more into a detail of facts, in order to prove, that it was the improper interposition of the Majority of the civil government, and the encouragement given to the Rajah, to expect every support that their influence and power could give him, which brought on his ruin. I shall speak to two other facts, which, from being blended and confounded together, with the grand one of the Rajah's political dispatch into eternity, have caused them to be wilfully misrepresented also.

If I swerve in the least from the line of truth, in relating the following circumstances, there are two men at your elbow, that can, and I hope will, call me to order, not merely by a private and silent negative nod, or expressive shrug, to the members at your own table, or in your own house, for that shall not serve them; it must be by an open, fair, and candid refutation of my assertions, (if they dislike them;) and that I may not be mistaken, one of the persons whom I mean, was superintendent of the cutcherry, or country court of justice, at, or about, the time the Judges arrived; and the other came with the Majority to Calcutta, and took the lead in defending the Rajah on his trial. They were both in the secret; and had the latter of them not been well paid for his services, no opportunity could

could have offered for shewing his gratitude, in the manner he now does, to his friend Mr. Francis, in attempting to revive *the good old cause*, at the expence of an injured and absent man, and that in a manner, not very unlikeness to the means used for the same purpose at Bengal.

In the year 1769, an eminent banker, who was an inhabitant of Calcutta in Bengal, died, and left his estate to be divided into certain proportions amongst his family, and in a vast number of legacies, to particular people, and to charitable uses. His two nephews were declared in the will, to be the trustees of the estate; but he ordered that a particular friend of his, should direct all the concerns in settling his affairs, agreeable to a power of attorney, which in his life-time he had given to that friend, jointly with a certain broker, who had always transacted the business of his house; but this last (the broker) was to act, or not to act, after his death, just as his confidential friend should determine.

At the time of the banker's death, the East India Company owed him a sum of money, amounting to 200,000 rupees. On the receipt of this money from the Governor and Council, in a great measure depended the fulfilling of his bequests; and he had recommended to the care of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bihadar, his patron, the office of soliciting

soliciting the payment of the money from the Company's agents, in behalf of his family. The payment was made in a number of the Company's notes or bonds, drawn for small sums, to facilitate the negotiation of them. The bonds were carried to the Rajah, by one of the trustees or nephews, and confidential friend, or acting administrator, to the estate of the deceased banker, and left in the possession of Nundcomar.

Some little time after, the same nephew, and friend, accompanied by the broker, (who was now called upon to act agreeable to the power of attorney, and desire of the deceased in his will) went together to the Rajah, to obtain the bonds, in order to settle the affairs of the banker's estate. At this meeting, the Rajah produced one bond of the deceased banker's to him, for 10,000 rupees, another for 48,000 rupees, and two other papers, or bills, of his, for 35,000 rupees, for *durbar charges*; which expression is always understood to mean, money given to men in power, in return for favours obtained by means of their intercession, and by which the Rajah, agreeable to his constant practice, insinuated that he had given to the Governor 35,000 rupees, to procure the payment of the money. When he had separated as many of the bonds from the number received, as amounted to the three sums above mentioned, and delivered the remaining Company's bonds, and the cancelled bonds

bonds and bills, to the executors as vouchers for them, he desired that the eight Company's bonds which he had reserved as due to himself, on account, might be indorsed over to him. It was necessary that the deceased banker's book-keeper should do this; and the trustee, the friend, and the broker, when they took leave of the Rajah, carried with them one of his servants to see it done. It was done, and the bonds were re-delivered to the servant of the Rajah. To this stage of the business nothing appeared. The bookeeper obeyed the positive orders of his late master's particular friend and executor, in indorsing the eight Company's bonds over to the Rajah, but not without making the following exclamation :—“ Good God! “ what has all this money been paid to the Rajah “ for! my master owed him but ten thousand ru-“pees.”

This matter did not make much noise at the time; and when any of the legatees wanted to bring the Rajah to account, the friend or manager of the estate, and the wife of the deceased banker, always interposed, by saying, Why should we, for a little money, disturb the quiet of the patron and friend of our dead master? This in the wife, who was to enjoy the fourth of the neat estate, was very disinterested; but people who know the piety and virtue of a great majority of Hindoo women, will not wonder

Some time in the year 1771 or 1772, the acting administrator to the estate of the banker, and supposed private friend of the Rajah, died ; and Nund-comar, who, with his assistance, had kept proof of his forgery from appearing against him in the country courts, became again in danger. Our Mayor's Court, from the nature of their charter, could not take cognizance of civil suits between natives. This, and their idea that a man, who had possessed himself of other peoples money in the manner the Rajah had, could only be obliged to return it, is supposed to have prevented an earlier appeal to our criminal law. By dextrous management, it was represented to the Mayor's Court, that the only surviving executor to the estate of the banker, then at Calcutta, was incapable, both in body and mind, to go on to manage his uncle's estate ; and an order was obtained, that all papers relative thereto, should be delivered into the hands of Mr. William Magee, the Register of the Mayor's Court.* With this man, the Rajah was said to

* " Mayor's Court, Calcutta, January 14th, 1772.

" Ghosain, by his attorney, William Magee, informed the court, that Pudmohor Doss, one of the executors to the last will and testament of Bollahey Doss, was lately dead, and that Gangabessen, and his brother, Hengro Lol'an, who is at Purna, are the remaining executors, and that Gangabessen is incapable of taking charge of the affairs of the said Bollahey Doss, ordered that William Magee, register of this court, shall forthwith take charge of the books and papers of the estate of the said Bollahey Doss, detailed, and file the same, and report to this court a true settlement thereof.

have

wonder at such an exertion of those godlike attributes in an Asiatic widow. But the confidential friend of the banker, does not appear to have had credit given him, for being actuated by such noble motives as the widow ; for when she had retired, to spend the remainder of her days, into the interior part of the country, some of the legatees began again to disturb the Rajah ; and complaint was made in the Mayor's Court, that the acting executor of the dead banker, had conveyed away some necessary papers belonging to the estate, and this brought on him the suspicion, that he had been in league with the Rajah, in order to defraud the estate of his unsuspecting deceased master.

Heavy complaints were made of this business, and a suit commenced against Nundcomar in the country courts. A spirited young gentleman, then president of the cutcherry, sent and arrested the Rajah, for contempt of his court, and without paying any regard to the solicitations of the Governor of Bengal for the time being, (not, by committing him, to disgrace a Nobleman and Bramin of his high order,) he sent him to the common prison belonging to his court ; there to lie "*with rogues forlorn,*" "*on wet and musty straw.*"

This commitment being only for contempt, the Rajah, by making proper concessions, got out again, and the suit went on. *I pray the reader not to forget the above circumstance.*

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have made interest ; for during his life-time, proof, as heretofore, was held back from the Country Courts. This was one opinion ; but there was another, Sir, which bore hard on your little friend, the Cutcherry-man. He best knows how it came about, that no decree passed, for against the Rajah, in his court, whilst he presided ; and from some circumstances of his conduct, which came out afterwards, we are at liberty to suppose what we please, as to the compliances of his temper, in the capacity of a Judge. If he says these are calumnious insinuations, I will admit, that they are but hints to times past—Dimn'd broad ones, to be sure—But he knows that the man who makes them, is at hand, and will be produced if he pleases to call for him, *being always at home*. At the same time let him advert to the business he is about, and recollect the abominable insinuations entered upon record, against the honour of a man on the other side of the world, whose amiable disposition, and integrity of soul, he knows, but hates him for their, as much as Mr. Francis does. There was not a man in Calcutta, who did not believe that the Rajah had forged the papers, with the assistance of which, and the connivance of the confidential friend, and acting administrator, he had defrauded the heirs at law, and the legatees of the banker's estate. It was also strongly believed, that Mr. Magee had, during his registership, destroyed them. But in about three months after the arrival of the Judges, and the establishment

establishment of the Supreme Court, Magee also died.

At this time a set of hungry wolves, of dastardly, selfish lawyers, had been let loose on the settlement, and they prowled about in every corner in quest of prey. They all knew this story of the Rajah's, and each was eager to catch hold of the vouchers (if they existed) to sweat this original Nabob. Some in your house, are tolerable copies of this great original Machivaelian hero, but they ate but copies.

Supreme Court, March 24th, 1775.

" MR. FARRER, advocate for Gungabessen, surviving executor of Bollakey Doss, deceased, moves, that two chests, containing accounts and vouchers relative to the accounts, of the estate of the said Bollakey Doss, deceased, and also twenty-eight bonds and receipts, belonging to the estate, which were deposited in the registry of the late Mayor's Court, at the instance of William Magee, may be delivered to the said Gungabessen."

" MR. BRIX, advocate for Seebnout Doss and Lauchmon, administrators of Pudmohon Doss, deceased, who was one of the executors of the said Bollakey Doss, deceased, objects thereto."

NOT to tease you further with hard outlandish names, I shall only observe, that Pudmahon Doss was the name of the friend, and the acting executor to settle the affairs, and the man who, through fear, fraud, or on some unknown principle, permitted the Rajah to cheat the estate of his friend ; and Gungabessen was the nephew, or one of the trustees appointed by the will. This last was the person whom the Mayor's Court set aside, as insufficient, from debility of body and mind, to conduct his own affairs, and gave the papers to Magee.

FARRER, the lawyer, you see, brings him on the stage again as a capable man, and prays the court to order him the papers of his uncle's estate. On the future trial, however, it appeared, that he was so extremely ill of a disorder, which had hung on him for a long time, that the surgeons declared on oath, an attempt to bring him into court, might cause his death.

AFTER all, neither Farrer nor Brix could obtain the vouchers : for the truth was, Magee had not destroyed the forged bond, and two fictitious bills for durbar charges, but only put them from amongst the other papers belonging to the banker's estate, into a box containing some very dirty and old records of the court.

WHILST every lawyer in Calcutta, was endeavouring to come in for part of the spoil, either in attacking or defending the Rajah, it came to be known, that the vouchers had not been destroyed.

I AM not quite certain how the truth came to light ; but I have heard that a black writer, who had acted in the Mayor's Court, under the register, Magee, give a hint to the Company's lawyer, in what part of the register's office the papers were to be found, and he flew with them to the sick nephew, or trustee of the banker's estate, who, at that time, lived in the house of the broker so often mentioned, and who, by virtue of his joint power of attorney, had acted in the affairs of the estate, since the death of the banker's friend, and principal executor. A meeting of all the legatees on the spot, together with the book-keeper, was called ; and the whole being convinced that the Rajah had cheated the estate, by means of the false vouchers now in their possession, of so capital a sum as eighty odd thousand rupees, which, if recovered, was to be divided amongst them, and the broker having in view 5 per cent. on the sum, if received by virtue of his power of attorney, it was unanimously agreed by the book-keeper, the legatees present, and the agents for absent legatees, that the broker should prosecute for the good of the whole.

The wife, and one of the nephews, of the dead banker, being absent, and the friend dead, the Rajah had not one well-wisher at this general meeting, but the sick nephew; and he, by the warm revenge of the book-keeper, who had served the family his whole life, the avaricious vicars of the broker and legatees, was hurried on against his will, it was said, to admit of the prosecution. The papers were produced, the fact was sworn to before one of the Judges, (as acting Justice of the Peace for the day,) and the Rajah committed to the county goal. This whole affair was so sudden, that not one of the Majority, nor of the Minority, knew any thing of the matter, until the Rajah was lodged in prison. The Deputy Sheriff did offer to bail him, but the sitting Justice said it was a criminal affair, and bail could not be admitted.

Now, Sir, if you please, let us pause a little, to examine your assertions of the matter being considered by the country people as a political one. I shall admit that neither the nephew, the book keeper, the legatees, or the broker, looked further than to the disgrace of the Rajah, and the recovery of the money. The Company's lawyer had certainly a view to the obtaining a good sum from the Rajah, on the idea that he should be able to quash the evidence: And it is not unlikely but he might have effected it, had he only had Hindoos to deal with, who are averse to the spilling of blood, and

in particular that of a Bramin ; but he had snatched the prey out of competitors hands, who were as greedy and knowing as himself, and who, spirit-ed up by the Majority, joined against him in sup-port of the Rajah, and undertook his defence.

IT is very singular, that the Judge who committed the Rajah, was on but *indifferent terms* with Mr. Hastings. No enmity between the men themselves : it was a lady war, which sometimes will engage and draw aside the attention of the wisest of mankind. I mention this only because it was confidently said, that the Justice acted in obedience to the wishes of the Governor. If he did, it was a proof of his being a bad courtier, for the loaves and fishes lay on the other side ; and he could not take Mr. Hastings's opinion, for the Governor knew it not himself until the next morning ; when he said to the persons near him, I am sorry for it ; the refusing bail, though the act of a gentleman, who must know his duty in such cases, will be laid to me. He guessed right ; much abuse was heaped on both : it was called a concerted scheme, to de-stroy the honour of a man of rank, and make his life miserable, by the forfeit of his cast or religion, from the contamination he would receive by his being in prison one moment. What had been done by a Factor in the Company's service (*as noted above*) with great impunity, little noise, and no damage to the Rajah, was now the most daring piece

piece of political temerity in the King's Judges, who all agreed the next day, not to admit of bail, though every indulgence was ordered to be shewn the prisoner by the officers of justice.

It may be worth while to observe, that the Sheriff who, by his office, held the prisoner confined, was Mr Francis's brother-in law, who had followed his fortune to India, and by his influence became Sheriff, which, in Calcutta, has always been considered as a very lucrative office. The Deputy Sheriff and the goaler, with all the inferior officers, held their places immediately from him. It will then, I hope, be allowed, that the Rajah was as well treated, as the situation he was in would admit. As to encouragement, the Majority, and all their friends, I have heard, visited him in goal. Of the Majority doing it in person, I am not quite certain, but their *minister*, and all their friends, did it duly, and almost hourly. It was given out that the man would rather die than eat, in his present circumstances. He was considered as a martyr to the cause of truth, by the few who thought like the Majority, who really seemed to have given up not only their opinions, but also their consciences, into the direction of their *minister*,

ANOTHER circumstance singular enough to be observed, is, that the prosecuting lawyer, and the Rajah's two council, who had undertaken his defence,

fence, had been nominated by the Majority to their offices of counsellors, and lawyer for the Company.* The latter used to boast, with great indiscretion and vanity, that he would save the Rajah's life, if his council would consent to his paying the debt, and give him a handsome sum. This the others treated with great contempt and scorn, declaring that they were sure of obtaining an acquittal of the Rajah, and bringing the prosecutors to shame. It ought not to be forgotten, that the Rajah, tho' all his life engaged in scenes of prodigious villainy, as may have been seen in the Appendix, No. 3, yet could not possibly conceive, that, supported as he was, by the whole weight of the Majority, in whose hands rested the civil and military government of the state, he stood in any danger from the judicial power; it was an idea that was not yet formed in the mind of an Asiatic; the experience of Nundcomar's whole life, ran counter to it. I want, Sir, your abilities, to express myself fully, and as I feel, in this part of my subject. Turn, Sir, to your friend, the cutcherry hero; ask if what I assert is not strictly true; and from his answer

* " It appearing to us that the Company will be engaged in many suits on behalf of these people, we have employed Messrs. Farrer and Briz, as Standing council, and Mr. Hercules Durham, as attorney, in behalf of the Company.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, in the revenue department, dated in Calcutta, the 23rd of February, 1773.

determine,

determine, to whose account it ought to be laid, that the Rajah lost his life on principles of policy, if policy had any thing at all to do in the matter.

SURROUNDED by the Majority's friends and creatures, and taught by the council who had undertaken his defence, that no harm could approach him, if he set heartily about preparing properly for his trial, a house was opened by Nundcomar's friends, in the most bare-faced manner, for bold daring swearers, and ready money evidence, to resort to. People went about the town, to find out men of strong memories, in order to have them trained. The Rajah had by him the seals, which he had applied to the forged bond, and the hand writing of persons, whose hand writing was to some other papers, which was thought would be wanting. An instrument was prepared, to which the seals and writing was fixed, in every respect similar to the forged bond; and the men selected to study a story to give in evidence, pertinently and aptly; went to school regularly every day to the Rajah's son in law, and they were brought to him in jail, to be cross examined and perfected in their story, and every thing was supposed to be quite ready at the time the assizes came on.

FORTY-eight English gentlemen of unblemished characters, were summoned by the Sheriff on the grand jury. Their names were written on several bits of paper,

paper, and thrown together into a box: A separate list of the names in the box was called over, to see if all the gentlemen were there. The under Sheriff held the box, and the clerk of the crown drew twenty-three names from the forty-eight that were in the box, who were sworn in on the grand jury, and the gentlemen so chosen, went through the evidence in the most solemn manner, and unanimously found the bill. I say unanimously, because that is not always the case; and certainly if packing could have been suspected in the Sheriff, it was not against the Rajah. The same form and regularity was observed in the impanneling the petty jury; but of those summoned, there were above eighty. The Rajah had a list in his hand, and as he knew of himself, or by his friends, the character of every Englishman in the settlement, who were such as could be summoned on a jury, he, from notes set opposite their names in his own language, challenged many. At length a jury was sworn in, the Rajah pleaded not guilty, and the trial began.

OUR English counsellors at law, (and I believe the gentlemen of that profession, in all civilized nations, think that they have a right to go great lengths in defence of their client,) fought the Rajah's battle bravely; but not having the use of the country language, could give no assistance in training the evidence; nor was it easy for them to keep their features steady, in certain parts of the trial.

Four men were brought to swear to a long account of their being present, when the forged bond was written by one man, executed by another, and witnessed by three others; that all the principals were dead except the Rajah, in whose favour the bond was drawn; and even the servant who brought the ink-stand, was dead; but they four, who, tho' of the very lowest order of the people, had come in by accident, to visit a Prince and Bramin, and saw the transaction, without having any thing to do with it, were alive yet, swore to the seals, and pointed each man's particular one, though cut in the Persian character, which neither of them understood. At first they went on very well; but one of them being asked a question by the foreman of the jury, relative to some fact which he had spoken to in the middle of his evidence, said he could not begin in the middle, he must say it as he had learnt it, from beginning to end. Another being shewn a paper, which he had said an hour before, was of his own hand writing, and desired to write in the presence of the court, that they might compare it with the paper, said he could not write. He was then desired to read what he had before sworn to have written, and he replied, he could not read. Mr. Brix, one of the council for the Rajah, could not stand that, but fell off his guard so much, as to exclaim. " By G——d, this is too much." The other council, however, kept firm, and applied to the court for blank subpoenas, supposed to be with

with intention for the Rajah to put any man's name in the blank, whom his party out in quest of volunteer evidence, might think proper ; but this the court refused. After seven days sitting, the trial ended, by the jury giving in a verdict, *guilty*.

Now, Sir, I would ask you, if Mr. Hastings had been mad enough, foolish enough, or wicked enough, to have interposed, by himself or friends, either to have hanged or saved the Rajah, at what period of time was it to be done ? From the moment he was committed, to the last hour of his life, the man had strong hopes given him that he should be saved. Let those who fed him with such hopes, and prevented his complying with the proposals of the prosecutors' lawyer, of getting the whole evidence drawn off for certain sums of money, answer, when called upon, for the pernicious and ruinous advice, which deluded that unfortunate bad man, and led him blindfolded, as it were, to the foot of the gallows. For not the least pains was taken to open his eyes concerning the independence of the judicial power, on the morning of his exit. He certainly asked the goaler, if the Majority had signed the warrant for his execution ; and had to learn in his last moments, what his death made known, for the first time, to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, that there existed a power in the Supreme Court, which, in their own line of duty, was not controllable by the civil power.

SIR

SIR Robert Chambers, one of the Judges, did move his brethren to postpone the execution, until his Majesty's pleasure should be known ; but he was informed, that there lived at that time in the town, a banyan, or country merchant, who had been convicted of forgery at the quarter sessions at Calcutta, in 1762 ; but on a petition being given in to the Governor and Council, signed by vast numbers of the most respectable inhabitants, setting forth that forgery was considered but as a venal offence, by the laws and customs of the country, and as that was the first instance of a trial for that crime, which had happened since the English had settled amongst them, they prayed a suspension of the sentence, until the matter could be referred to the King. The first name in that petition, was that of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bahadar, who himself, eight years afterwards, committed the same offence, in the same place. Sir Robert withdrew his motion, which I am sorry for ; not that I think it would have made any alterations in the opinion, or in the conduct of the Majority. Long before the Rajah was, by their *minister*, set about making out *arzies* in the *barometre shop*, (in English, collecting materials for impeaching their President in the college of informers,) they had pledged themselves in the most solemn manner, to the Company, to the Ministry, and to the nation, to prove the Governor General to be the most vicious man, and mal-administrator, in the King's dominions. This

repeatedly

repeatedly promised great proof, nor one single particle of it, has yet been forth coming : The sum total of the honour of the whole party, stands now collected, and depends on the parole evidence of Mr. Philip Francis. What weight such a man's assertions would have in a civil suit against Mr. Hastings, for the recovery of one hundred pounds in Westminster-hall, I cannot say, but I do think that an English jury, who knew their duty, and considered every circumstance, would pass it by.

As to the circumstance of Mr. Hastings's placing the Chief Justice at the head of the Sudder Dewaneez Adawlet, to decide on appeals from the country Courts of Justice, it ought to be remembered, that the experiment of trusting the Supreme Court, with an interfering power which they had extended into the provinces, had impeded the collecting of the revenues, and produced consequences of so pernicious a nature, as to induce an opposition to it by violence from the civil power, to avoid the evil which must have ensued, from being obliged to wait a decision of the matter from home : But this deciding, to confine the power of the Supreme Court, to the bounds prescribed to the old Mayor's Court, was going to the other extreme, and defeating the intention of the legislature, in establishing some check on the provincial courts, over which the Company's servants presided. This, I
 " really

really think, has been sufficiently restored, by placing one of the Judges in the post given to the Chief Justice. I wish the three Judges were to have held it in rotation, for on the single circumstance of Sir Elijah's having it alone, hangs the whole of the evidence of the supposed collusion. I also wish the Committee had accepted of Major Scott's declaration, that the account of the fixing of the salary, had not been sent to him by the Governor General to Madras, because it carries conviction on the face of it. Mr Hastings had entered his intention of doing it on record. Why then hold back the certainty? If the matter had passed in Council, could he possibly have conceived that unfavourable conclusions could be drawn from his not having advised his agent of a thing being done, which most likely was not done, and at the same time order him to declare, that it was in agitation to be done?—(The last year's judicial act is now with them, and I prophecy, that it will induce the Chief Justice to come home. Sir Robert Chamber's will succeed him in the chief justiceship, and he and Mr Hyde, will do the business of the old limits very well, the present heats will subside, and the country be at peace)—No, but it was a damned political job, to put into the Chief Justice's pocket, eight or ten thousand pounds, before the plan could be reversed. Be it so. All that can be inferred from it is, that if a man in Mr Hastings's situation, shall be reduced, from political necessity, to

move a step out of the high road laid down for him, though to save the state, that shall not save him. If he conceals it, he is a knave if he declares it, he is a fool. Though honesty is said to be the best policy, the world will not abide by its own axiom. Many accidents happen in the government of the world, where true honesty and true policy, mingle as badly together as oil and water. You, Sir, are a great statesman, and have been heard to say, that in your opinion, Mr. Hastings's politics were crooked politics. Excuse me, Sir, for saying, that I think your conclusions are crooked conclusions, that the evidence you have adduced in support of them, go no way to the proof.

Thus are the only genuine materials, from which future historians are to collect the history of the nation, vitiated at the fountain head. Should Mr. Hastings be now dead, and the pressing distresses of this declining state, multiply so fast upon her, as not to allow time for a complete investigation into his conduct, I shall be no way surprised at meeting, in some monthly or annual register, some such account as the following, for the month of December, 1782.

“ During the course of this year, Great Britain
 “ has been particularly unfortunate. She has been
 “ stripped of nearly the whole of her transmarine
 “ possessions. Minorca has fallen to the arms of
 “ Spain,

" Spain; three fourths of our West India Islands
 " have been captured by the French; America
 " will treat with us as *independent* States, or not at
 " all; and our affairs in the East Indies, have fallen
 " into great confusion and disorder. This last has
 " been entirely owing to the *treacherous* politics of that
 " monster of iniquity, Governor General Hastings.
 " That rapacious and blood thirsty man, died in
 " ——— last, raving mad, after having accumu-
 " lated the enormous sum of two millions Sterling,
 " by all sorts of oppression. The immediate cause
 " of his death, is supposed to have proceeded from
 " the horrid twitchings of a guilty conscience, for
 " having been concerned with, the Judges of the
 " Supreme Court, in causing to be put to death, a
 " very innocent man, a great Prince by his rank,
 " and a first Bramin, that is an Archbishop of a
 " place called Hindoostan. This dreadful conspi-
 " racy has been brought to light, with many other
 " of his enormities, by that virtuous and good man,
 " Mr. Philip Francis, who, it is said, will have a
 " red ribbon, and be sent to supply his place.
 " This last may be depended on, as he is the parti-
 " cular and confidential friend of our great statesman
 " and patriot, the Right Honourable Edmund
 " Burke, Esq. one of his Majesty's principal Se-
 " cretaries of State, &c. &c."

If, Sir, your Committee have been quite right
 in their conjectures, the historian will not be much

out in his conclusions ; but if they should have been quite wrong, as I dare prophecy it will prove, what reparation can be made to an injured man ? Alas, Sir, do you mean to proceed to act on no better authority in affairs of government ? Will evidence so futile, so weak, and so suspicious, as what you have accepted in the present instance, justify your conduct ? Come down, Sir, for God's sake, from the pedestal to which you have clambered up. Such instances of your partiality ought to convince us, that you are not the man to approach the ear of Eve, or prop a throne.

COMBINATIONS, triumvirates, and proscriptions, destroyed the characters, and deluged with the best blood of her citizens, the streets of Rome, when that empire hung tottering on the brink of destruction.

THE rabble of that once mistress of the world, got drunk, and rioted in every dirty excess, when Marius subdued, and Cæsar triumphed over the true pillars of the state. And the pent up mob of the King's Bench, forced out lights, and broke windows, with every degree of lawless licentiousness, when you became a minor Minister. Exalting the plebian, and humbling the patrician families, has been "young ambition's ladder," in all free states. Your blood, Sir, I believe, has not yet been crobbed.

WHEN your Reports are completed, and Bill of Pains and Penalties prepared, I would recommend your friend the Chairman, to advert to a circumstance or two, which having, as it should seem, slipped out of his mind for the present, may come athwart his imagination during his harangue, and chance to spoil his eloquence. For instance, when he comes to describe the enormity of wasting the Company's money, in giving to the Chief Justice, 5600 rupees per month, for undertaking a line of duty, which probably may restore peace and order to the country, will it not occur to him, how angry he was with the Governor and Council, for supposing that he wasted their master's money, when only a Colonel in their service, he charged 5700 rupees per month for his table expences, and at the same time drew 2550 rupees per month, pay and batta? The King thought proper to give the Lord Chief Justice, the rank next to the Governor General, though a general officer in his own service, and a Knight of the Bath, commanded the army. Is 5600 rupees per month, too much to support the dignity of the first judicial officer in a great kingdom; and 8250 rupees per month, too little to serve the same purpose for a child of obscurity, or at best a soldier of fortune? Will he dare to hint at the Chief Justice's legal salary of 8000*l.* per annum, which he knows from his experience, and from his conscience, is barely sufficient to maintain a Member of the Board of Trade, who lives in any

degree

degree of stile, in a country where they are considered to be next in rank, to the great officers of state, and at the same time must know, that by my turning to the records of a committee, (who, by keeping to facts, left the world to judge of private character,) would enable me to prove that more than 20,000*l* per annum, did not satisfy him, and that from positive sums, which we know he received for three years together, without saying a word about emoluments, or paying the King's tribute in a certain species of rupees, the very name of which might chance to grate upon his ear? If he thunders out his eloquence against debarring the natives of substantial justice, where will the little Cutcher-ryman find a hole to hide his head? Yet, Sir, with these men have you joined, assisted by an evidence, that would be whipped at the office in Bow-Street, or Hicks's-Hall, to attack, in a most unprecedent-ed manner, the honour of an absent man, whom you do not esteem, because you do not know. His character has been given to you in a manner, that would disgrace the most infamous bog trotting witness in your own country.

Though it may strike you, Sir, that this plain language can come only from a *Statesman out of place*, I do assure you that I am no statesman, or wish, or hope, to become one. I am, however, a well wisher to my King and country, and grateful to the East India Company, for what I have only

only in view to enjoy. Possibly thirty years experience in the affairs of India, may entitle me to say a few words on a subject, which I hope your House will attend to, in the formation of any future regulating bill on Asiatic business. What I have learnt, was gathered in my passage from youth to old age, conversing with all sorts of inhabitants in every part of India ; not as your officious and partial evidence, Mr. Philip Francis, learnt his, from inflamed interested men, and persons who spoke English like jackdaws, and that in the circle of four miles in circumference.

EVER since the year 1750, I have known something of India affairs. Of all the confusions and disorders, of all the hair breadth escapes from total ruin, in which I have seen the Company's affairs so frequently involved, I never could discover but one cause for such dreadful and fatal effects, and that cause yet remains, and seems to have got such fast hold on the state, and on the Company, that repeated and almost ruinous experience, has not yet induced them to attempt a remedy, though it is in their power, and nothing can be more simple. Instead of conferring a steady responsibility, in political and revenue affairs, to one man, they have constantly thrown it down in their different settlements, for their governors and council to scuffle for, and most pernicious consequences have always and for ever ensued. Is there a man in England, who

can, at this moment, say whether Lord Macartney, or a majority of the Members of the old Council at Madras, holds the direction of affairs, and of course the responsibility at that Presidency ? or who can tell me whether Mr. Hastings on one side, or Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherson on the other, have now the government of Bengal in their hands, and of course the power of continuing the war, or making peace, with all the potentates on the continent of India. Ask at the India House; and the Secretary will tell you who is Governor at any one of the Presidencies, and give a list of the Council, but he knows no more than you do, with which fractional, or factional, parts of the aggregate body, the power, that is the responsibility, lies. For the last twenty years, not a season has passed over, without the Court of Directors having advice of some furious squabbles for power, having taken place at some one, or at all, their settlements in India. If they approve the conduct of one party, and enforce their measures by new orders, before those orders arrive, power has changed hands, and the principles they approve, no longer are pursued. All that the former majority had done, has, by the present reigning party, been overthrown; and instead of obeying the orders, in reverting back to the politics of their predecessors, as commanded to do by their masters, they sit down to defend and recommend their own. This induces warm expostulation from the Directors at home, which, on its arrival in

India, finds matters quite changed. Some of the culprits have escaped home; or a new party has been formed, who act on new schemes and plans of their own. Hence all the feuds, animosities, and distractions, in the conduct of their affairs, which began with their territorial acquisitions, and rages yet. To this impolitic system, we owe the war with Cossim 'Ally' Cawn in 1763, which called abroad Lord Clive, the imprisonment of Lord Pigot, the making a cypher of Mr. Hastings for two years in the government of Bengal, and the lessening of him in the opinions of all the great powers in India. To this rotten source, and a similar contest amongst the Presidencies themselves, we must look for the causes of the present Mahratta and Carnatic war. It would be needless to go on in citing instances in proof, the Company's records contain nothing else. In Lord Pigot's first government, he had, by his address, acquired this necessary influence, and under it made such prudent preparations to receive General Lally at the siege of Madras, without which, the gallantry of Lawrence, Draper, Monson, and their brave garrison, could not have saved the town.

In 1759, Colonel Clive foreseeing that if the French were not dispossessed of the Port of Masulipatam, and their influence in the northern Circars destroyed, Pondicherry could not be reduced, as from the above places, they drew constantly great supplies,

at this instant, but without his troops. Colonel Clive dispatched him with three battalions of Seapoys, and what Europeans he could muster, over the river, with orders to throw himself between the Dutch troops from Batavia, and those who were marching from Chinsura to join them. When this was effected, Ford saw that immediate action was inevitable: but there being no national war with the Dutch, and Fort William within one hour's distance, he wrote to Colonel Clive for an order of Governor and Council, to attack them. Clive, who was sitting in a mixed Company, read the note with his usual composure, and without saying a word, or moving from his seat, took a pencil from his pocket, and wrote on the margin of the letter, the following words:

“ Dear Ford,

“ Fight them directly: I will send you an order of Council by and by.

“ Yours,

“ R. C.”

And then delivered it to the orderly serjeant, and bid him send it back to Colonel Ford, as fast as possible.

But Clive and Chatham were stars of such resplendent magnitude, that their actions, I fear, operate rather as exceptions to the general conduct

of mankind, than as spurts to the imitation of them.

THE constitution of the East India Company, is by no means defective in its principles, but every way equal to the conducting of their affairs in Asia. And it is astonishing to observe, that instead of confiding the necessary power in the hands of one man, whom, after more than twenty years services, and innumerable instances of his abilities and integrity, they have appointed to carry on their affairs as Governor, yet leave responsibility to be scrambled for, and obtained, by a set of younger, servants, headed by a desperado, who, having some interesting point to carry for himself, when that is obtained, cares not sixpence for the master, or their servants. I need not travel out of your Committee, Sir, to seek damning proofs of this assertion ; but I mean not here to instance the late situation of Mr. Hastings in particular. The observation takes in the whole scope of the Company's service, past and to come, as long as things remain as they are. Mr. Hornby, the present Governor of Bombay, has served the Company near forty years ; the two next in rank to him, have been in the service above thirty. Is there any man who does not reason on the principle, that interest is the test of merit, but what would prefer giving the succession to the government to one of those, with an influence, that by making him responsible, involved his own ch-

acter, and made the good of the Company, and the preservation of that character, one and the same object? At such a certainty, the Company would know in whose abilities they had placed confidence; whose measures, or whose conduct it was, that they had before them to decide on; and if they found such a confidential servant, acting contrary to their interest, they could instantly remove him, and benefit from the severity of their own justice, by its operating *in terrorem*, on the mind of his successor. Such a man, knowing that he alone was accountable for any deviation from the orders and rules of the service, would reason much; and having no opposition to his will, to rouse and set his passions in motion, to disturb or destroy his reasoning faculties, his actions would be directed by sound un-irritated judgment. The minds of the other members of the board, as well as those of the younger servants, and inhabitants at large, would be free from party squabbles, and at peace. What is it that the Company or the state would risk, by trying of such an experiment, that is not risked now? Have we not recent instances to prove, that the removing of whole sets of servants, goes only to the effects, without touching the cause? Would Hyder Ally have dared to have entered the Carnatic, but from conviction, that the sinews of government had been so relaxed by party and faction, that no spring of action remained? When men can lean on the opinion of others, in justification of their

their own, the best curb on the 'actions of man,' the fear of shame, is taken away.

. A GOVERNOR of Bengal (I will instance Mr. Hastings, who has been trained up from a boy in the service, used to the manners and customs of the natives, and by long habit, easy in admitting, and bearing his part in them, wants no go-betweens, for carrying on the current affairs of government. Information is brought him, that an Ambassador is arrived at Calcutta, from some great Prince, perhaps the Nizam, or Subah, of the Deccan ; he fixes the day for giving him an audience ; but secretly instructs a confidential officer of the country government, to wait on him privately in his name, tendering him every kind of civility and respect, and at the same time to draw from his servants and dependents, as well as by his own observations, what is the true character of the agent, his connections, and his influence at the court from whence he came. So prepared, he receives the representative of the Prince, with all those little niceties and observations, which are necessary to an interview with an Asiatic Ambassador, the confidence of whose master you wish to obtain.

His nazier, or complimentary present of a few pieces of money, is received with a politeness and ease, which can only be learnt by long and constant usage ; and not rudely refused, on a strained and

and contemptible construction of an English Act of Parliament, forbidding the receipt of corrupt presents, as we have seen was done by men of pretended virtue, who, at the same time, were using means to do away a man's life, by giving false information.

THE Ambassador's passions are attacked by honest, not *crooked policy*; his vanity is warmed and fed, by the kindness and politeness of the great English Chief. His admiration is called forth, at hearing his master's power and good qualities, complimented in the purest diction of the language spoken at his own court. At going away, beetle* is presented to him by the Governor, in a manner so captivating, as to make a complete conquest of the man's good opinion. Ceremony over in one or two private audiences, the Governor, by his familiarity and condescension, makes the man write what he pleases to his Prince, as far as it relates to his respect for, and perfect good intention towards him.

* The delicacy of Asiatic manners, has established a custom of presenting beetle-nut, with the leaf, some cardamums, and a small portion of pure lime, made of sea shells, all mixed together, and ready for use, given only by a superior to an inferior, on their going away. The calling for it is (brbe, as our immaculate triumvirate would term it) signifies to the visitant, that he has permission withdraw, or that his time of audience is over.

THE Governor then dictates, or writes himself, a letter in the Persian language, couched in the most elegant terms of compliment used in Asia, and with it sends a plan of a treaty, which he wishes may take place between the Prince and the Company; and this he sends by trusty messengers, whose ability and fidelity, long practice has taught him to distinguish, ordering them to wait at court for an answer, promising a suitable reward for dispatch on their return, when the answer is delivered to them.

At length the courier returns, and the proposals being accepted, the executive branch of the government has done its duty. In this stage of the business, the Governor lays the papers before his Council, with a minute, setting forth his reasons for desiring their concurrence in the measure proposed; when up gets one of the Majority, moves to put a negative on it, and it is carried against the Governor, by the casting vote of a Clerk from the War-Office, who knows no distinction of character, between Europeans and Asiatics, except that of a black man and a white man, or, as the common people of that country have it, a turban wearer or a hat wearer.

THE Governor, disappointed, makes the best of it that he can with the Prince, and his Ambassador. But the evil does not stop here. The Ambassador is sent for in private, on the supposition that the

Governor has some secret negotiation with him; tending to his own emolument; and the man is given to understand, what he is obliged to believe, that the Governor General has, in fact, no power; and in consequence, he writes to his court, that whatever business is to be done at Fort William, must first meet the approbation of men, who, taking all their information from others, were suspicious, diffident, and slow, and that the plan proposed by the Governor, was at an end. In one of those nocturnal interviews, it was that a linguest was pressed by Mr. Francis, to explain to the Ambassador what a great man he was, and being at a loss for a proper comparison to illustrate his power, desired the man to describe him as being *the fifth part of a King*:

Such, Sir, have been, and perhaps now are, the consequences of appointing a man to a station of high responsibility, from whose capacity much good is expected, at the moment his power is totally done away. Is it not better to recall such a person, than to leave him in a situation to be personally insulted, and see his station degraded? Or is a simple recall from his station too mild, that he is subjected to severe and cruel insinuations, by which he stands condemned by implication, from a quarter out of the reach of justice, and denied the birth-right of the most common Englishman, a trial by his peers? If these, Sir, are your ideas

ideas of justice, you neither speak nor write the language of your heart.

Men, the least acquainted with public affairs, know that all the political business of the world, is done by the few. On a select cabinet council, and sometimes on a single minister, depends all the external and internal political affairs of this vast empire. The proprietors of all great companies choose directors, the directors form committees, and the committees choose a select committee ; and even this rectified essence of human knowledge, lodge an almost unlimited power, in the hands of the chairman and deputy chairman ; so unequal are all large bodies to the necessary secrecy and dispatch in political matters ; that even liberty calls tyranny to her aid, in support of her most important concerns. With committees of your house, it is the same as with all other committees ; when the ballot is over, some active member, conversant in the business they have in hand, is called to the chair ; a few other members join him, from a love of business, a desire to initiate themselves in parliamentary duty, or some incidental local knowledge in the matter of enquiry ; the rest are in general mere comers and goers, hear the evidence partially, seldom read, or attend to the reading, such volumes of dry manuscript, but snatch their intelligence of how the matter goes, just like other sons of curiosity lounging in the lobby.

The chairman, and the willing drudge, who, fond of literary fame, holds the sometimes too partial pen, become the oracles of the committee; the other predatory, half informed stragglers, take up the sentiments of their high priest, from broken sentences, shrugs, and nods, adopt them for their own, and become as tenacious of the doctrine, as noviciates in a college of Jesuits in days of yore.

To some such cause, and not to a conviction of their understanding, we owe the extraordinary doctrine inculcated in the part of the Report now under consideration; and I rest assured, that they will not at all be displeased with me, for putting them in a way to rectify the great wrong they have inadvertently done to an innocent and absent fellow subject.

By turning to the former and present Report of their Committee, they may discover by what gradual, and almost imperceptible degrees, their Chairman, and his assistants, have led them off from the true scent of judicial investigation, into the wilds of politics, where having inflamed their passions, he is plunging them up to their ears in error, and making cats-paws of them, to gratify his private spleen to individuals. Compare his inveterate speeches in Leadenhall Street, against the Chairman of the Court of Directors, and the Governor General of Bengal, and then let their judgments determine,

determine, what his motives have been for inducing the Committee to sanctify with their approbation, the extraordinary implications, sent into every corner of the Kingdom, that Mr Hastings, by policy, brought about the destruction of Nundcomar to save himself

I BEG to draw the particular attention of the Committee, and of the House, to the following facts To No 3 of the Appendix I refer them, for the general character of Maha Riyah Nundcomar. To No 1 of the Appendix, for the sentiments of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr Francis, on the character and conduct of the Governor General, from their arrival in October, 1774, to the 11th of March, 1775, on which day Mr Francis introduced Nundcomar into the council room, to charge Mr. Hastings with mal administration.

I WOULD ask whether it does not plainly appear, that the Majority having pledged themselves (by every foregoing ship of the season) in the most solemn manner to the Company, and to the Ministry, that they would follow up their charges with proof, and that finding that the time of sailing of the last ship drew very near, and that nothing had been done in support of those charges, they were obliged to play the last dreadful game, and bring forward Nundcomar, who had been employed by the *rr*

nister of the Majority some time before, in procuring forged papers against two members of the former administration, on which his son-in-law, and others his abettors, had been convicted of a conspiracy ?

How comes it that this confidential friend of theirs, held back his charges from October to March, before he gave them up ?

Does not this long holding back such important information of matters, said to have happened so long before his new friends arrived in the country, in such a man as Nundcomar, press home on the mind a conviction, that his fertile genius fabricated this intelligence, just in the nick of time when the Majority wanted it ;* and can it be imagined, that men

Letter to the Court of Directors.

* " Calcutta, 24th of March, 1775

" On the 11th instant, a letter was delivered into the board, from " Alha Rajah Nundcomar, wherein he charges the Governor-General with sundry malversations in the course of his administration, " as president of the late government, and with having received several sums of money from Munney Begum, and from himself, " for favours bestowed on them through his influence. A copy of " this charge was ordered to be delivered to the Governor immedi- " ately.

(" Signed)

" J. CLAVERING
" G. MONSON
" P. FRANCIS."

men who had already gone so far in their "charges" against Mr. Hastings, as to have pledged their honour, and all that was dear to them, over head and ears to make them good, would refuse any assistance to be had? Did they not follow up this by the most positive declarations, that they failed only in their proofs, by the man's being politically taken off? when it appears from the above detail of circumstances, which they cannot overset, that the man lost his life, by their preventing his compromising the matter, by refunding the money, and satisfying the greedy lawyer. Would a little money laid out

Who shall deny, that knows the Rajah's true character, that he was concerned in forging all sorts of papers (that suited his purpose) during a long life, and comparing that circumstance with the necessity the Majority was in for some share of proof, of the numerous assertions transmitted to the Company of Mr. Hastings's capacity, but that this matter was brought forward very opportunely for their designs? Besides this, there is a circumstance which strikes very forcibly on the mind, which is, that on the self same day that the Majority was writing home the above account to the Company, their confidential friend, Mr. Carter, the lawyer, was endeavouring to get into his hands, the forged papers belonging to the banker's estate. Must we believe that all these concurring circumstances, which point out so very strongly, some deep conspiracy against the Governor, happened by mere accident? and at the same time believe on their bare words, without their offering one single circumstance in proof of it, that Mr. Hastings concerned himself at all about the banker's papers, or the Rajah's forgery? I shall be curious to know whether this honest knot of friends will meet as usual in the Speaker's chamber, to go on with questioning one another, when they must know, that every Member of the House of Commons, will have seen or heard of this truth speaking pamphlet, which they must retake, or hide their heads.

on the fure-side, have been worse bestowed, than the immense sums he squandered, in trying to save himself by a scene of perjury, bribery, and subornation, that is not to be paralleled in the annals of time? Well is it for the surviving parties concerned in that blood selling affair, that they have to do with a man so free from spleen as Mr. Hastings is; was he actuated by the vindictive inveteracy of Mr. Francis, and was only to desire the son and son-in-law of the Rajah, to give in a list of the money distributed, and to whom, from the first commitment of their father, to the hour of his death, such a scene of iniquity would be laid open, as would shock humanity; but that is no part of his character; if the forgiveness of enemies is the first Christian virtue, he is the greatest practiser of that virtue now existing.

THAT the Majority should endeavour, by all their art and power, to induce the people of this country to believe such unfounded stories, is not to be wondered at; but that a Committee of the House of Commons, should, on the parole evidence of a single individual, simply saying, that many people thought it a political affair, adopt and lay that abominable policy to the account of the Judges, and the Governor General, by pointed implication, without the shadow of a proof, is terrible indeed.

MR. FRANCIS, not content with taking every opportunity, for six years together, of crowding the India House with continual fallacious accounts of the dismal situation of the Company's affairs abroad, furnishing his agents here with myriads of lying squibs for the daily papers, and overloading with pamphlets, that common sink of filth and fiction, the shop of Almon and Debrett, in Piccadilly, but has had the temerity, or good fortune, which you please, to have his crude absurdities held up to national view, in the sacred records of Parliament.

As his production, No. 17 in the Appendix to the Report, is made up of shreds and fragments from his former cuttings out, as well as a great deal of guess work, the Devil, his master, must certainly have determined his shame, or he would have allowed him the usual privilege of common fibsters, of being sometimes right by chance. I have neither time nor space, at this juncture, to take up that curious salt water composition, but pledge myself, if I hear more of him, to shew how prodigiously unlucky he has been, from one end to the other of it.

SOME OF OUR NATIONAL WITS have observed, that the people of this country are never better pleased, than when they are told how neat their public affairs are to ruin and destruction. MR. FRANCIS has served full seven years to the trade, shewn great industry, strong

strong abilities, and unconquerable perseverance; but at this time, I own, I am against his being permitted to go on, 'as the wolf is most certainly coming from the direct opposite quarter.'

118 2

WHEN Colonel Moshon died, every body thought that Mr Hastings would have made a sweep in all the offices, and replaced his injured friends, but that is not the characteristic of the man; the enemy disarmed, the Governor, if they pleased, becomes their friend. Two instances, and those such as was necessary to recover his influence with the country power, were all the changes he made. Yet so prodigiously ungrateful are some men, that they neither forget or forgive the injuries done by themselves. There are people now in England, who, by the mere lenity of the Governor General, continued years in office after the above period, and perfected the fortunes they are now enjoying, endeavour to swell themselves into consequence, by spitting their venom, in traducing the character of that uncommonly disinterested man, these gentlemen will take fire at seeing their captain so scourged.

*"But a knave's a knave to me in every state,
" Alike my scorn, if he succeed or fail,
" Francis at court, or Laram in a jail"*

I SHALL say a few words more relative to the influence that popular prejudices have on the minds of

of the people of Asia, not unworthy the notice of the legislature, if they really have in contemplation, once more to cobble and botch a constitution, sound and vigorous enough to work out its own salvation, if no more quacks, such as Mr. Francis, are sent to try their nostrums, by way of experiment. In short, if the executive power shall be entrusted with the influence, that some faction always hath taken every thing, may, be hoped for. " Try conciliatory measures," is a phrase, Sir, which you, *whilom*, were extremely fond of. I hope your principles have not been injured from your change of situation. Believe me, the condemning a subject of this country, by any mode, or in any shape, unheard in his own defence, is not a maxim to be found in the laws of the kingdom, whatever it may be in the Inquisition, or at St. Omer's; and the punishing a man, in order to the compelling of his successors to act up to your notion of what is right, carries something so diabolical in the very idea of it, as would suit the prince of darkness alone to act on.

THE natives of India looked up to Lord Clive as to a being of a superior nature to their own. They have songs in his praise, and traditions handed down from father to son, which they implicitly believe, such as that he had singly and alone, attacked and routed five hundred of the enemy, that he was invulnerable, &c. &c. This truly

truly noble Lord's person, they had seen decorated with that precious mark of military virtue and royal approbation, a red ribbon. The title and the ornament, formed but one idea in their minds, and *Lord Saib* was, in their opinion, the highest appellation of honour; and the ribbon the greatest mark of court favour which possibly could be obtained.

We have seen to what a degraded and abandoned situation the Governor General had been reduced, during the reign of the Majority, who thought of nothing but of calumniating him at home, and disgracing him in the eyes of the Princes of Hindoostan abroad. These facts the reader will find established beyond all cavil, in Appendix No. 1.

Mr. Hastings had but little time allowed him from the death of Colonel Monson, in which to set to rights the Company's deranged affairs, and recover his influence with the country powers, when out comes a red ribbon for General Clavering. The sight of that well known signal of court interest and favour, which the Bengal people had never seen, but on the shoulders of their deity Lord Clive, carried conviction home to the minds of the whole inhabitants of Asia, that the Governor General was a ruined man, and marked off as a sacrifice to the vengeance of his most bitter enemies. In so humiliating a situation, nothing but his innocence could have supported him. The triumphs

triumphs of his enemies, were expressed by such manners, and in such language, which none but the souls of cowards could have conceived.

You are now, Sir, of Council to our most gracious Sovereign ; never, if you love the honour of Great Britain, advise him to send such a mark of his royal approbation to a junior in rank to his Governor General of Asia. It degrades them too much in the eyes of the people, except a halter and death-warrant attends it to hang up the chief ; then indeed, the Asiatics will understand the cause, by seeing the effects follow upon it ; for with them, Sir, the first power in a state, ushering into the world reports, containing inferences, which imply that a great officer in the government, is so prodigious a villain, as not to be fit to live, the bow-string always accompany them. Have we, Sir, not something yet to learn of those well judging Pagans ? But that your Committee is composed of gentlemen who profess the Christian religion, I should think that something charity ; for what is life to a feeling mind, when honour is snatched away ?

Our good name left, the heart is at ease. Not worldly losses, not misfortunes, defection of friends, the grasp of power, poverty, sickness, nor death itself, can shake the steady mind of him, who, keeping in the upright way, takes virtue for his guide ;

guide; that comfort lost, not princes smiles, -not all the splendour of superfluous wealth, nor titles high, nor wide domain, can peace restore to him, whose conscience says, my honour's in the dust.

I HAVE entered the lists against a very powerful cabal. You, Sir, are a great politician, a minister of state, an admired orator, and a much read writer. The General is (in his own opinion) a great soldier, has hopes of becoming a statesman in Leadenhall-Street, possesses dispositions to be thought an orator, but having gone late to school, must be content to act an under part, and feed on fame's cast scraps, as full grown scholars use.

YOUR friend the Bengal Justice, has really great skill in Asiatic learning, much local knowledge of the business in hand, and is withal, no bad penman. Such a triumvirate, assisted by a quibbling lawyer, and cunning clerk, both principal actors in the great tragedy you have alluded to, will certainly produce something in support of your undertaking, and do away the impressions this little book shall make on all unbiased minds.

IF this is not done before the introduction of your next Report into the House, what matchless intrepidity of face shall save your Chairman from seeing a mixture of ridicule and contempt all round him, when the clerk shall read,

" AND Mr. Francis, late one of the Council General, being again called before your Committee, further said, &c."

YOUR reasons for giving such a turn to the contents of the Report, does not appear in the Report itself, nor, as I can find, in your former Report. The expressions made use of by one of the evidence, " That the execution of Nundcomar, was considered by part of the inhabitants, to be a political measure," will certainly apply to those who had the whole of the civil and military power in their hands, and of whom your friend Mr. Francis was one, better than to the Governor General and the Minority ; and possibly, Sir, a majority of those gentlemen, who shall go to the trouble of reading what I have said on the subject, may think my application of it, rather better than yours.

I WILL tell you, Sir, why I hold so lightly a man of your abilities ; you possess not the great outlines of a true patriotic character, " consistency in opinion, and uniformity of conduct." In your writings, are to be found sentiments divine, as they relate to the proper means of supporting the wonderful fabric of our pure constitution ; but in your greediness to catch popular applause, the rank Republican appears, or you would not have proposed to degrade the Sovereign of this well tempered

tempered state, to a rank with your own footman; by stinting him and his royal progeny, (whom may God take into his keeping, to limited board wages.)

I AM in some degree of pain, fearing that you may think my drawing of Mr. Francis (though extremely like the original, to be rather too high coloured; and not unwilling to take the opportunity of paying my court to one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, I shall present you with another likeness, drawn by a much more eminent artist than I can possibly pretend to be. Look, Sir, into the political tracts of Mr. Edmund Burke, where, in "Observations on a late State of the Nation, 4th edition, page 63, line the 10th," you will find these words;

" THE true cause of his drawing so shocking a picture, is no more than this, and it ought rather to claim our pity, than excite our indignation: he finds himself out of power, and this condition is intolerable to him. The same sun which gilds all nature, and exhilarates the whole creation, does not shine on disappointed ambition; it is something that rays out of darkness, and inspires nothing but gloom and melancholy. Men in this dolorable state of mind, find a comfort in spreading the contagion of their spleen: they find an advantage too; for it is a general, popular error

" error to imagine the loudest complainers for the
 " public, to be the most anxious for its welfare. If
 " such persons can answer the ends of relief and
 " profit to themselves, they are apt to be careless
 " enough about the means or the consequences."

SEE, Sir, the advantage of a polished education; you have collected all the powers of the English language into a small focus, and darted them on some being, whom you thought worthy your indignation. I feel as you felt; but having no more learning, than what could be purchased for sixpence a week, am obliged to use such words and phrases, as I could collect at such an academy. But truth, Sir, is still truth, whether decorated in courtly stile, or in home spun phrase of village jargon. Your picture will suit my frame, as I hope you will allow my picture will yours. Neither are worth preserving, further than to shew to lookers on, to what unjustifiable lengths the spirit of party, when lighting on a corrupt heart, inflamed by ambition, will carry a human creature.

I am,

Right honourable Sir,

With all due respect,

Thomas's Hotel,

Your most obedient

King's College,

humble Servant,

Borough, April 8,

The AUTHOR.

1752.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

No man can be more sensible than I am, that even my best friends will say, that I have expressed myself too warmly in some parts of this work, and I lament extremely my unhappy turn of mind, which forces me to think otherways. When a man's own moral character is at stake, or that of an absent person, for whose injured honour he feels as much as for his own, what is to be done? There are insinuations in the Report so plain, and pointedly severe, as not to be mistaken, and that from a quarter, as much out of the reach of human justice, as heaven itself, if we could suppose heaven the seat of injustice.

NAMES have, in general, been avoided, because we live in an age so very refined, that old English is deemed brutal.

THE use of initials is contemptible, if the man who uses them, hopes thereby to evade the just rigour of the law, or private resentment. If I have crossed the line of justice in my search after truth, I will no more fly from the laws of my country, than I would desert her colours in the day of battle. The liberty of the press is so necessary to the fundamental freedom of the inhabitants of this happy Island, that the sword of justice cannot better be employed

employed than to guard it ; and the same justice should scourge into order, all those who presumptuously carry it into licentiousness : on this principle I wish to be judged.

If the men whom I have strongly marked, tho' not always named, have not committed the wrong of which I complain, let them make that appear to the nation : when that is done, I pledge myself to appear at the bar of any court of judicature in the kingdom, and abide by the judgment of my peers.

A P P E N D I X, No. I.

Extracts from a Letter to the Honourable
the Court of Directors, for the affairs of
the Honourable United East India Com-
pany,

Dated Fort William, November 30, 1774.

2 WE are sorry to lay before you the reasons
which we think oblige us to address you
in a separate Letter ; and we make it our earnest re-
quest, that you will not only receive those reasons
with candour and indulgence, but that you will
consider the substance of this Letter, with your most
serious attention. The questions which will neces-
sarily arise out of it, and which must become the
subject of your immediate deliberations, are, in
our judgments, so important, that not only the
preservation of your territorial acquisitions in this
country, but perhaps the fate of the British em-
pire in India, may depend upon the decision of
them.

3. THE short time which has elapsed since our
arrival here, has been so totally engrossed by the
first

first forms, and multiplicity of instant business, that it has not been possible for us to possess ourselves of any other particular knowledge of the internal state of these provinces, than that which your Governor General has been pleased to communicate to us.

5. LET us begin with assuring you, that we came into this country, impressed with the highest ideas of the character of our colleagues, and of the wisdom and ability, with which your affairs had been conducted under Mr. Hastings. We came determined, as far as that opportunity could found a determination of future conduct, to unite heartily with him in the support of his administration.

THE trust reposed in us by the legislature, our duty to you, and the consideration of our own personal ease and happiness, did all equally concur in leading us to cultivate the friendship and confidence of our colleagues, and to promote, as much as possible, a general harmony in our councils ; yet you will see upon the face of our consultations, that the Majority of the Board have already resolved on some measures of the greatest importance, in direct contradiction to the opinion of your Governor General, and that this difference of opinion, has been attended with dispute and altercation between us.

73. In short, gentlemen, if the true condition of your government here, has hitherto been concealed from you, and from the nation, it is high time you should be undeceived. The *summa rerum* is at stake.

74. In reviewing this long Letter, we fear that you will perceive upon the face of it, many marks of an hasty inaccurate composition; and we wish that the time would permit us to make it more methodical and correct. As for the authenticity of facts, and the substance of the inferences deduced from them, we desire it may be understood, that we willingly pledge our honour, and every thing that can be dear to honest men, for the truth and exactness of this representation, as far as it reaches, of the state of your affairs.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON.

P. FRANCIS.

Extracts from another Letter, dated 1st of December, 1774.

THE fatal differences which have arisen almost immediately upon our arrival here, between our colleagues and us, will naturally alarm the Court of Directors. All the observations we shall make upon them here, is, that they arose from the new and unexpected state of things, not from any personal dislike, or cause of any offence on either side. *At the same time it is absolutely necessary* you should be apprised, that we are very apprehensive, that these unhappy differences will not be confined to a single object.

WE fear, that besides the political, they will extend to other important branches of administration. We wait the decision of the Court of Directors, upon the great points now before them; and we hope that in justice to all parties, it will be clear, precise, and peremptory; and that such a line will be drawn for our future guidance, as will leave no possibility of doubt or mistake hereafter.

We have the honour to be, &c.

. (Signed) J. CLAVERING:
GEO. MONSON.
P. FRANCIS.

Extracts of a Minute of General Clavering,
 Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated
 the 11th of January, 1775, to the Court
 of Directors.

23. If the charges of a personal failure in the respect due to Mr. Hastings, had had any foundation whatsoever, we think it ought not to have been described by so gross a term, as that of a *warfare of scurrility*. The expressions to which he himself applies and confines that description, are on record, and referred to by himself. Our superiors will judge whether they have a reference to the public measures of the late administration, or personally to Mr. Hastings, and whether, supposing them to be directed against measures only, they were, or could be, too strong for the occasion.

37. On this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings, we shall only for the present observe in general, that under any tolerable form of government, the effects of the famine must long since have ceased to be felt in a country, where nature asks nothing of the governing power, but not to study to resist and defeat her operations. The world will soon see, that it is oppression of the most violent and pernicious nature, which has reduced this fertile country to a state of depopulation.

73. If we had leisure or inclination to enter into details of an inferior importance, we are very sure, that there is hardly a line of the Governor General's addresses to the Court of Directors, in which we might not easily detect and prove, some inaccuracy in matter of fact, or contradiction in argument. We decline the weary task, not only because we think it unworthy of us, but as it is really in itself unnecessary. Facts of a transcendent magnitude ought to engross our attention : when once they are established beyond contradiction, they include the probability of inferior abuses, and at the same time make it superfluous, to push that probability into proof.

75. The true condition of this country, cannot long be concealed. Effects will be felt before they are accounted for. When that happens, we foresee no difficulty in determining by what means, and by whose misconduct, a rich and flourishing state is reduced to the hazard, at least, of beggary and ruin. The great and alarming question will be, by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a state can be recovered ? Common men are not equal to the occasion.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON:

P. FRANCIS:

Extracts of a Minute, No. 1, from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated Fort William, the 25th of February, 1775.

3. WE mean also to convince the Governor, that in some material instances, he has concluded hastily on groundless suppositions. In short; since we have not had the good fortune to succeed in our attempts to satisfy him of the impropriety of his conduct and opinions, by the mode of argument which we have hitherto made use of, we shall endeavour to obviate all further difficulties on this head, by appealing to authorities which he cannot dispute, or by setting some of his own declared opinions, or positive assertions, in a clear and direct opposition to each other.

61. SUPPORTED in our opinion of the late mis-government of this country, by so high an authority as that of Parliament, and confirmed in it by our own immediate observation and experience, we do not hesitate to declare to Mr. Hastings, that he cannot offer us a stronger presumptive proof of the weakness, impropriety, or depravity of any political principle, or public measure whatsoever, than by telling us it was adopted by the late administration.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.
GEO. MONSON.
P. FRANCIS.

Dated as before.

WE condemn the political measures of the late administration, as not only defective on the score of justice and expediency, but as involving this government in an endless train of difficulties and contradictions, for want of the necessary foundation of some uniform and simple principle of policy. It appears to us, that the late President and Council, in their transactions with the country powers, have adhered to no one system whatsoever. They in fact, acknowledge the sovereignty of Shaw Allum, by coining money in his name, and by collecting and appropriating the revenues of these provinces under his grant; yet they withhold his tribute, and sell his country to the Vizier, who, either as Vizier, or Subah of Oude, is no more than a great officer of the empire, and removeable at the Emperor's pleasure. Our opinions with respect to the succession to Sujah Dowlah, are fully stated in the secret consultation of the 13th instant.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING:

GEO. MONSON.

P. FRANCIS.

Extract of a Minute from General Clavering,
Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated
Fort William, the 21st of March, 1775.

THE present system evidently leads to depopulation and loss of revenue. In the course of three years more, we think it much to be apprehended, that the continued operation of this system, will have reduced the country in general to such a state of ruin and decay, as no future alteration will be sufficient to retrieve.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.
GEO. MONSON.
P. FRANCIS.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council, at Fort William, in their secret department, to the Court of Directors, dated 24th of March, 1775.

16. ON the 11th instant, a letter was delivered into the Board, from Maha Rajah Nund-comar, wherein he charges the Governor General with sundry malversations in the course of his administration, as President of the late government, and with having received several sums of money from Munny Begum, and from himself, for favours bestowed on them through his influence, — A

copy of this charge was ordered to be delivered to the Governor General immediately.

2. BUT in what manner is it really our duty to act? Are we to suffer the Company to continue unacquainted with their situation, and let the storm gather till it bursts, or are we to take upon us, the immediate odium of discovering to them the real difficulties in which their affairs are involved, and the imminent danger with which they are threatened? In this apparent alternative, we think that the consideration of our own personal honour, personal safety, and above all things, of our real duty to the Company, leave us no choice.

3. WHEN we refer to the consideration of our personal safety, we mean to establish our immediate claim to one general vindication of ourselves against all consequences, that when the present administration took the government upon them, almost every natural resource of the country was already exhausted. As to the effect which any present discovery of the truth may produce at home, we can only say, that the distresses we allude to are so instant, that no artifice whatever on one side, nor tacit aquiescence on the other, could possibly conceal them much longer from the public view.

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

GEO. MONSON.

P. FRANCIS.

Minute.

Minute from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated Fort William, the 11th of April, 1775.

MABA Rajah Nundcomar, whom the Governor calls a *miscreant*, we found had been but a very little time before his bosom friend, consulted on all occasions, and supported by him, against the united protest of Messrs. Graham, Lawrell, and Dacres, who were closely connected with Mahomed Reza Cawn, although the Governor knew him to have been (as he now says) guilty of a forgery. We have reason to suspect, that the intention was to make him Banyan to General Clavering, to surround the General and us with the Governor's creatures, and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of the government. By this, and other slimy devices, so consonant to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the Governor General has been so long exercised, he probably flattered himself, that men, unpractised in such arts, might be perplexed and circumvented.

NUNDCOMAR finding himself deceived, or disappointed, by the Governor General, soon made use of the means which his intimacy with the Governor had put into his power, to gratify his resentment.

Whatever might have been his motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear light upon the honourable Governor General's conduct, and the means he had taken of making the very large fortune he is said to possess, of upwards of forty lacs of rupees, which he must have amassed in about two years and a half

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APPENDIX, No. II.

Remarks on a Letter written by General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to the honourable Court of Directors, dated November 30th, 1774.

THE solemn affirmation at the close of this address, as it contains no argument, requires no answer, and shou'd pass unnoticed by me, if it were not that such a positive pledge of their honour, and every thing that can be dear " to honest men," may sway with many in opposition to all reasoning; and I must confess it appears to me, to be introduced with a view to this effect. I must, therefore, express the surprize I feel, that the gentlemen should hazard so sacred a pledge upon the truth of facts, so various and unascertained, that it is impossible for human reason to decide on many of them; much less for these gentlemen, to whom the subjects were entirely new, to receive, in so short a time, such information, as they could affirm, upon a pledge of honour, to be truth, and in effect it will appear from the above remarks, that they actually have been mistaken in many of the *facts and inferences*,

inferences, which relate to the state of the Company's affairs. For myself I will declare, that, with certainly a fuller knowledge of the circumstances than they can possibly have attained, and with as earnest a solicitude to abide by truth, I will not venture to pledge my honour, that error and mistake, may not have a place in what I have written; but I will make this sacred pledge of my "honour, and "every thing that is dear to me as an honest man," that my endeavours, both in my minute of appeal and these remarks, have been to free my conduct, and that of the late administration, from the misrepresentations which have been cast upon them; and, by a fair state of the motives and effects of our measures, to lay the truth before our employers, and enable them to decide with justice, between us and our accusers.

I AM sorry to see the names of Clavering and Monson, subscribed to such unworthy insinuations; because I do not believe that ever the heat of party contention, can have so far warped their minds from the consideration of that justice, which every man of honour will yield to the honour of others, as to make them really believe me capable of so base an artifice as they have imputed to me, without the slightest grounds to support it.—*I will not answer it.*

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Remarks on the Second and Third Minute
 of General Clavering, Colonel Monson,
 and Mr. Francis, dated January the 11th,
 1775.

3. **I**n this, as in many other paragraphs, here are very alarming intimations ; but although the gentlemen of the Majority, see a *certainty* of instant *distresses*, they do not particularize them for your information ; when this is done, I shall submit to you my sentiments upon them. In the mean time, I hope this mysterious mode of writing, will not be productive of any ill consequence at home : It certainly has such a tendency.

THE gentlemen, in different parts of their writings, seem to blame me for stopping the payment of the King's tribute : on the other hand, had I paid it, I suppose, from the preceding paragraph, that I should have been charged with sharing in it.

IT is an undoubted truth, that the state of the Company at the time in which these measures were adopted, was distressed both at home and abroad : It shall be incontestably shewn, " That their present condition is prosperous and flourishing." The means by which this sudden alteration has been effected, have been repeatedly and fully shewn.

It may suffice here to say, that it has been principally occasioned by the acquisition of money from the Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and the reductions made in the Company's expences in Bengal.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful and obedient

Humble Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Minute of the Governor General, dated
the 22d of February, 1775.

I Have been so much straitened for time, that I know not whether I ought to bespeak your pardon for the incorrectness of this address. I have endeavoured to keep it within as small a compass as the design of it would admit. Many passages and entire paragraphs of the Minutes of the Majority, I have passed without a reply; either because they contained nothing which required a reply, or because the language was too harsh, and the reflections too personal, to deserve one. These were the studied and deliberate production of the closet; and from these you will judge of the temper which

which is to regulate your interests in this difficult and extensive government, in the long interval which must elapse, before your orders can apply the decisive remedy to the disorders inevitably resulting from it. My situation is truly painful and mortifying. Deprived of the powers with which I have been invested by a solemn act of the legislature, ratifying your choice of me to fill the first office in this administration; denied the respect which is due to my station and character; denied even the rights of personal civility, by men with whom I am compelled to associate in the daily course of official business, and condemned to bear my share in the responsibility of measures which I do not approve, I should long since have yielded up my place in this disgraceful scene, did not my ideas of my duty to you, and a confidence in your justice, animate me to persevere; and if your records must be dishonoured, and your interests suspended, by the continuance of such contests as have hitherto composed the business of the present council, it shall be my care to bear as small a part in them as possible, making the line of my duty exempt from every personal consideration, in this, as in every other concern incident to my station, the sole guide of my conduct, if I can.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Extracts from the Governor General's Address to the Court of Directors, by the Ship Anson, dated Fort William, March the 25th, 1775.

THE various and accumulated attacks which I have been made upon me by my adversaries, exceed my abilities, and the narrow compass of my time, to repel them by that circumstantial mode of defence, which I have made use of in my former addresses.

THE first acts of the Majority manifestly shew, that their aim was, either by continual provocations, to induce me to throw up my seat, and leave them the sole uncontrouled masters of this valuable state, or, by annihilating my present influence, to render me a cypher in it; and by misrepresenting the measure of my former administration, as universally tending, and even systematically calculated, for the ruin of your interests, and the national honour, in this country, to effect my removal by a superior and legal authority.

THE ruling principle, and spring of all their actions, is fairly, but rather unguardedly, explained, in their first letter of appeal, in the declaration, " That the justification of their conduct, must of

" necessity carry with it, and could only be supported, by a strong and deliberate censure of the preceding administration." I have admitted the truth of this proposition, in the application of it to such of their measures, as are directly contradictory of those of the preceding administration; but I will not allow it to be either just or fair applied to measures, with which these have no relation; but it is a powerful, though trite policy, to which the unthinking part of the world, have too often been the dupes. To such let them address themselves; I trust that my cause will be decided by other judges:

THOSE relating to the allegations of Rajah Nund-comar, have been committed to the hands of your attorney, for the purpose of commencing a suit at law against me, in the name of the Company, for the recovery of the sums said to have been received by me from Munny Begum, in the year 1772. I reserve my defence for the same channel, not choosing to give my adversaries an advantage, by anticipating it, nor to bespeak your premature judgment, on a cause thus depending. I do not mean to restrict myself solely to this mode of defence; let the laws have their effect; and I am willing, and shall be proud to submit, all my transactions, of what nature soever, to your justice, in any way or form that you shall prescribe. In the mean time, I beg that you will suspend your opinion upon my

*conduct,

conduct, except on those parts of it, on which you have complete materials to decide, and on which your earliest decision is required. In this decision, the conduct of my opponents must necessarily be involved.

A combined and declared majority of the Council, have stood forth as my accusers. I appeal for the truth of this assertion, to the whole tenor of their conduct since their arrival in this country, and to the undoubted evidences which appear on the public records of the last fifteen days consultations, that these gentlemen are themselves parties, if not the principals, as in my heart I believe them to be, and such the world esteems them, and the Ranny of Burdwan, and Rajah Nundcomar, little more than instruments and ostensible agents, in the accusations preferred by them against me.

As little do I judge it consistent with my own honour, or your interest, to suffer the first member of this state, to be personally arraigned at the Council Board, and exposed to the insolence and calumnies, of a miscreant like Nundcomar. Had the Majority been disposed to accept of my proposition, of appointing a committee for prosecuting their enquiries, either into these, or the Ranny's allegations, they might have obtained the same knowledge, and all the satisfaction, in this way, that they could have expected from an inquisition

taken by the Board at large; their proceedings would have had the appearance at least of regularity, and my credit would have been less affected by them. The only point which they could possibly gain by persisting in bringing such a subject before the Board, was to gain a public triumph over me, and to deprive my place and person of insult.

ALTHOUGH I have declined entering at this time and place, into a refutation of the accusations which have been preferred against me, in the names of Nundcomar and the Ranny of Burdwan, yet I do not think it proper to pass them wholly unnoticed.

You are well informed of the reasons which first induced me to give any share of my confidence to Nundcomar, with whose character I was acquainted by an experience of many years. The means which he himself took to acquire it, were peculiar to himself. He sent a messenger to me at Madras, on the first news of my appointment to this Presidency, with pretended letters from Munny Begum, and the Nabob Yeteram ul Dowlah, the brother of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn, filled with bitter invectives against Mahammed Reza Cawn, and of as warm recommendations, as I recollect, of Nundcomar. I have been since informed by the Begum, that the letter which bore her seal, was a complete forgery, and that she was totally unacquainted with the use which had been made of her name, till informed

formed of it. Juggut Chund, Nundcomar's son-in-law, was sent to her expressly, to intreat her not to divulge it. Mr. Middleton, whom she consulted on the occasion, can attest the truth of this story. I have not yet had the curiosity to enquire of the Nabob Yetram ul Dowlah, whether his letter was of the same stamp, but I cannot doubt it.

The promise which he says I made him, that he should be constituted Aumcem, (that is inquisitor general over the whole country,) and that I would delegate their whole power and influence, is something more than a negative falsehood. He did once or twice intimate to me, a wish of the kind, but with so little success, that for a while he wholly dropt it. On Mr. Reed's return from the coast, where he had been on leave of absence, Nundcomar made his application to him for the same employment, hoping through his influence to obtain it. Mr. Reed, deceived by his suggestions, brought the proposition before the Board, and supported it with warmth, and it was rejected. The manner in which this matter had been introduced, contains striking proofs of the incendiary character of the man, and the proceedings will shew the grounds on which the proposition was rejected.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A P P E N D I X, No. III.

N U N D C O M A R.

Letter from the Secret Committee of the
Court of Directors, to Warren Hastings,
Esq. dated the 28th of August, 1771.

S I R,

measures, which alone can render the Naib's conduct subject to the effect of a full enquiry, and secure that retribution, which may be due on the detection of any fraud, embezzlement, or collusive practice, in his public or private transactions.

In order, therefore, to make him amenable to a due course of justice, and to prevent the ill consequences which might result from the resentment and revenge, which he may conceive on the knowledge of our intentions, we hereby direct and enjoin you (immediately on the receipt of this Letter) to issue your private orders, for the securing the person of Mahommed Reza Cawn, together with his whole family, and his known partizans and adherents, and to make use of such measures as your prudence shall suggest, for bringing them down to Calcutta: and it is our pleasure, that they by no means be suffered to quit the place, until Mahommed Reza Cawn shall have exculpated himself from the crimes of which he now stands charged or suspected, or shall have duly accounted for the revenues collected by him in the Chucklah of Dacca, and have made restitution of all sums which he may have appropriated to his own use, either from the Deewanee revenues, or the Nabob's stipends, and until he also shall have satisfied the claims of all such persons, as may have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression, committed by him in the office of Naib Dewan.

As the detection of any corrupt practices of which Mahommed Reza Cawn may have been guilty, and the retribution which in such cases is to be required of him, are equally the objects of public justice and the Company's interest, we assure ourselves, that you will sedulously endeavour to penetrate into the most hidden parts of his administration, and discover the reality of the several facts with which he is charged, or the justness of the suspicions we have of his conduct.

IN this research, your own judgment will direct you to all such means of information, as may be likely to bring to light, the most secret of his transactions. We, however, cannot forbear recommending to you, to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nundcomar may be able to give, respecting the Naib's administration; and while the envy which Nundcomar is supposed to bear this Ministry, may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are persuaded that no scrutable part of the Naib's conduct, can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival.

HENCE we cannot doubt but that the abilities and disposition of Nundcomar, may be successfully employed in the investigation of Mahommed Reza Cawn's administration, and bring to light any embezzlement, fraud, or malversation, which he may have

have committed in the office of Naib Dewan, or in the station he has held under the several successive Subahs : and while we assure ourselves, that you will make the necessary use of Nundcomar's intelligence, we have such confidence in your wisdom and caution, that we have nothing to fear from any secret motives or designs, which may induce him to detect the mal-administration of one, whose power has been the object of his envy, and whose office the aim of his ambition : for we have the satisfaction to reflect, that you are too well apprised of the subtlety and disposition of Nundcomar, to yield him any trust or authority, which may be turned to his own advantage, and prove detrimental to the Company's interest.

THOUGH we have thought it necessary to intimate to you, how little we are disposed to delegate any power or influence to Nundcomar, yet, should his information and assistance be serviceable to you, in your investigating the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, you will yield him such encouragement and reward, as his trouble and the extent of his services may deserve.

By our general advices we deemed it adviseable to mention only, that we had received information of Mahommed Reza Cawn's having increased the calamities of the poor, during the height of famine, by a monopoly of rice, and other necessities of life.

life. We are, indeed, restrained from an open communication on this subject, fearing the consequences which might ensue from the Minister's revenge, should he learn by whom such accusation had been brought against him ; but persuaded, as we are, of your secrecy and discretion, we herewith transmit to you, Extract of a Letter from — to —, wherein Mahommed Reza Cawn is charged with a crime of so atrocious a nature, and we the rather advise you of —'s information, as we rely on your endeavours to obtain full evidence respecting the truth of this allegation, as well as of such others, as are the objects of the scrutiny, we have directed to be made into the Naib's conduct.

SENSIBLE, as you must be, of the importance of the charge thus confidentially committed to you, we shall not seek to animate your zeal for the Company's welfare, but only observe, that, by the effectual execution of the separate trust reposed in you, you will at once render the Company a signal and essential service, and approve yourself worthy of the opinion we have formed of your judgment, prudence, and integrity, and which we have so fully manifested, in selecting you to preside in the administration of the government of Bengal.

London,

We are

Augt 28th 1771.

Your loving friends, &c

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Warren Hastings,
Esq. dated at Cossimbuzar, the 1st of
September, 1772.

6. THE same principles guided me, though not uninfluenced by other arguments of great force, in the choice of Munny Begum, the widow of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, and of Rajah Goordass, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar; the former for the chief administration, the latter for the dewanee of the Nabob's household; both the declared enemies of Mahomed Reza Cawn. To the latter, indeed, I was principally inclined, thro' your commands; and I hope it will appear, that I have adopted almost the only expedient in which they could be exactly fulfilled. You directed, that "If the assistance and information of Nundcomar, should be serviceable to me, in my investigating the conduct of Mahomed Reza Cawn, I should yield him such encouragement and reward, as his trouble and the extent of his services may deserve." There is no doubt that Nundcomar is capable of affording me great service, by his information and advice; but it is on his abilities, and on the activity of his ambition, and hatred to Mahomed Reza Cawn, that I depend for investigating the conduct of the latter, and by eradicating his influence, for confirming the authority, which you have assumed in the administration of the affairs

affairs of this country. The reward which has been assigned him, will put it fully in his power to answer these expectations, and will be an encouragement to him to exert all his abilities for the accomplishment of them. Had I not been guarded by the caution which you have been pleased to enjoin me, yet my own knowledge of the character of Nundcomar, would have restrained me from yielding him any trust or authority, which could prove detrimental to the Company's interest. He himself has no trust or authority, but in the ascendancy which he naturally possesses over his son. An attempt to abuse the favour which has been shewn him, cannot escape unnoticed, and if detected, may ruin all his hopes. The son is of a disposition very unlike his father; placid, gentle, and without disguise; from him there can be no danger.

7. You will perceive by the records, that this appointment has not taken place without opposition from a majority of the gentlemen who form the committee now at this place. I know not whether you will approve, or disapprove, of the silence which I have observed with respect to your orders, in the arguments which I have used in support of my recommendation: my reason was, that I thought the measure in itself so proper, that I did not doubt of its receiving the confirmation of the Board at large; and unless some material advantage could be gained by it, I did not think myself at

liberty to divulge your secret commands. I am at this time most firmly persuaded, that no other measure whatever would have been likely to prove so effectual, either for promoting the enquiry which you have directed, or giving strength and duration to the new system.

8. I HOPE I shall not appear to assume too much importance in speaking thus much of myself, in justification of the motives which led me to this recommendation, that I had no connexion with Nundcomar, or his family, prior to the receipt of your letter by the Lapwing; that, on the contrary, from the year 1759, to the time when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man, because I judged them to be adverse to the welfare of my employers; and in the course of this contention, I received sufficient indications of his ill-will, to have made me his irreconcileable enemy, if I could suffer my passions to supersede the duty which I owe to the Company. My support of Nundcomar, on the present occasion, could not therefore proceed from partiality; it will be as obvious, that my preference of him to other competitors, could not arise from interested motives. I may be charged with inconsistency; but the reasons which I have urged in the minutes of the Committee in support of this measure, will, I trust, acquit me to my honourable employers; and if my conduct shall

stand the test of their judgment, it is a point of duty to bear with the reproaches of the uninformed part of the world. To the service of the Company, and to your commands, I have sacrificed my own feelings, (pardon the presumption of this repetition,) and I have combated those of others, joined with me in the administration of your affairs. I claim your approbation of what I have done, not as a recompense of integrity, but as the confirmation of the authority which you have been pleased to confide in me, and of your own, which is involved in it.

9. I with pleasure do justice to the Committee, in declaring, that strenuously as they opposed the measure while it was a point of debate, it had no sooner received the sanction of your Council, than they all concurred with me in supporting both that and the other resolutions which were connected with it, as steadily as if they had never differed from it.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS,

Letter from Governor Hastings to the Secret
Committee of the Court of Directors for
the Affairs of the Honourable United
East India Company.

Fort William, March 24th, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH the proceedings of the board contain, very minutely recorded, all the measures which were taken for prosecuting the enquiry into the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and my own sentiments, both in the course and issue of it, are therein inserted at large, yet, as I was originally honoured with your especial commands for conducting this intricate business, I conceive it to be in some measure incumbent upon me to address you on its conclusion, that I may account for any apparent deficiency, by stating the difficulties which I have had to encounter in the discharge of it. I will speak first of that charge which was more particularly the object of your attention and our enquiry; I mean the monopoly of grain.

You will be pleased to recollect that the charge was general, without any specification of time, places, or persons. I had neither witnesses, nor vouchers, nor materials of any sort, to begin with; for these I relied chiefly on the abilities, observation,

observation, and active malignity, of Mahā Rājā Nundcomar; but not resting wholly on his aid, I took such other precautions as were most likely to produce Informations against Ma-
homed Reza Cawn, if his conduct had really merited that return from the people of this coun-
try. In concurrence with the Committee of Cir-
cuit at Cossimbazar, and with the Council here,
I published advertisements, inviting all persons to
give information against such as had contributed
to the distresses of the country, in the time of
the famine, by the monopoly of grain, or any other
unfair practices, on the wants and necessities of
the people. I allowed all who had any thing to
offer on these subjects, to have access to me;
and, although I never had much time to spare, I
patiently bestowed many hours, and even days,
of it, in listening to the multiplied, but indefi-
nite suggestions of Nundcomar. In a word, I
omitted no means which were consistent with my
character, to bring the truth of this accusation
to light.

In the course of the enquiry, I proceeded
with the most rigid impartiality, not suffering (I
can safely say) the smallest bias to incline me.
You will see with what materials I was furnished;
I am sorry to say, that some were collected with
so little decency and regard to truth, as to make
me apprehensive of the effects which they might
have

have produced on my character, from the countenance which I afforded to the principal agent in the prosecution, had I not in my own immediate conduct, invariably adhered to the strictest rules of justice. My judgment was formed with the same temper of mind; and I continue in the persuasion, that it will be found perfectly consistent with the evidence before me, which cost me much labour and attention, in the midst of continued interruption, to collect it from the records of near thirty different examinations.

I INFORMED Rajah Huzzoorymul of the reference which you had been pleased to direct me to make to him, for the facts on which his information (a copy of which I received in your commands by the Lapwing) was grounded. He came several times to me, with the express purpose and promise, of entering into a full communication of the subject, and brought with him an old and respectab'e Merchant of this city, since deceased, who, he said, was equally apprised of these circumstances with himself, to aid him in his informations; but after much timid hesitation, mutual reference, and procrastination, they both at length declined; nor could I ever obtain the smallest intelligence from either. I should be sorry if this report were to give you an unfavourable opinion of Rajah Huzzoorymul: I can truly affirm, that I know not a man of a more guarded conduct, or a more con-

scientious integrity. Either the fear of the consequences affecting his character, restrained him from avowing what he knew, or (which I think more likely) he was misled by the clamours of the people, in the information which he originally gave to Mr. Gregory.

With respect to the accounts of the Nizamut, and the balance said to be due from Mahommed Reza Cawn, for the collections made by him at Dacca, during the life time of Jaffier Ally Cawn, it was certainly more in the power of Nundcomar, than any other person, to furnish me with the fullest and most authentic state of both. Besides an official and practical knowledge which he possessed of the nature of the former, of which at one time he had the entire management, he had at this time the command of all the accounts of the Nizamut, through the means of his son, Rajah Goordass, who is the Dewan of that office.

He possessed the entire confidence of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, at the time in which Mahommed Reza Cawn was employed as Agent for the Dacca Collections, and had actually entered into a scrutiny of his conduct during the life of that Nabob, which scrutiny produced the balance now appearing against him.

ALL the accounts on these heads, which I have ever received from Rajah Nundcomar, stand upon record, and they are such as appear more calculated to acquit Mahommed Reza Cawn, than establish any proofs against him. Indeed, he has lately offered to furnish me with very minute accounts of the Dacca Collections, during the period of Mahommed Reza Cawn's agency ; but these were not put into my hands until the enquiry was closed, altho' he had taken other indirect means (I know not why) to bring them to the notice of the Board. And as to the Nizamut accounts, although I have used every means, for upwards of ten months past, both with him and his son, which could operate either on their hopes or fears, to obtain them, they were not delivered till the latter end of January last, and were then accompanied with the promise of a separate proof of embezzlement in the article of Exchange, which, after fresh importunity, both from myself and from the Board, was transmitted so late, that it arrived only on the 10th instant: nor did this, more than any other papers furnished by NUNDCOMAR, afford any thing like proofs, but only reiterated charges, without one voucher, or the least aid that might direct us to one.

I AM at a loss to discover the secret spring which governs the mysterious conduct of this man, as I am certain he is impelled by nothing

less than a desire to favour Mahommed Reza Cawn. It might suit well with his private views to procrastinate the issue of the enquiry, although it would be little consistent with the credit or justice of your Administration, to prolong it to a farther period, two years having been already consumed in bringing it to a close on our proceedings. Many attempts, indeed, were made by Nundcomar, both in the course of this affair, and in the examination of Maha Rajah Shitabroy, to obtain a formal commission for making a personal and local inquisition into the accounts of the collections depending on both; but of this I disapproved, knowing that such a power might be converted, and believing that, in his hands, it would be converted, to purposes very detrimental to the revenue, and oppressive to the people: It was proposed to the Board, and by them peremptorily refused.

NOTWITHSTANDING the consciousness which I possess of my own integrity, and the certainty that my conduct, throughout this ungrateful business, will, on the most rigid scrutiny, do me credit, yet I am not without my fears. I am aware of the violent prejudices which were taken up at once against Mahommed Reza Cawn, by all ranks of people, both here and at home. I am also aware, that in England, where the very name of enquiry into the past management of affairs in India, flatters the passion

passion of the times, and raises expectations of great and important detections, the result may baulk those expectations, and turn the torrent of public clamour another way. In many of the private letters which I received from my friends in England, I was warned to act with the greatest caution in this enquiry, as the confirmation of my credit with the public, and, forgive me for adding, with your honourable Court, depended upon it.

THE magnitude of the charges which were alleged against Mahomed Reza Cawn, his reputed wealth, the means which that afforded him both of suppressing evidence, and even of influencing his Judges in his favour, and the natural conclusion deducible from so many exaggerated accusations, that some part of them at least was true, gave additional force to these cautionary intimations, and made me fear for the consequences; not only as they might affect my reputation, which it has been the study of my life to maintain unblemished, but as they might blast all my hopes from the continuation of your favour, which I hold solely on the credit of my integrity.

IT is possible that, on a review of the proceedings, you may find some critical circumstances disregarded, some facts of consequence not sufficiently traced through all their connexions or dependent events, by which the truth might have been

been more successfully followed. I can only say, that I have never quitted this prosecution, but for affairs of greater moment; and although I ever bear the most respectful deference for your commands, and have never suffered my zeal to slacken in their execution, yet I must candidly own, that I never gave up a portion of my time to this business, without feeling a painful regret, that so much of it was lost to the care of your real interests; and how much of it I have bestowed on that, your records in the various departments over which I preside, will abundantly testify.

I MUST declare that I have another motive for my fears; the dark and deceitful character of Nund-comar, whose gratitude no kindness can bind, nor even his own interest disengage him from the crooked politics which have been the study and practice of his whole life. Of this I have had many very extraordinary proofs: I shall instance only two, as most expressive of his ruling character.

BEFORE my departure from Fort St. George, when my appointment to this Presidency was known, a messenger, expressly deputed from Munny Begum, came to me there with Letters from her, intreating my protection in the most earnest terms, both for her house, and for the people of Bengal, against the tyranny of Mahommed Beza Cawn, and referring me for farther information,

tion, to Maha Rajah Nundcomar, from whom I received similar addresses on the same subject, and by the same hand. The Begum has since solemnly disowned her having ever written such Letters, or authorised such a commission.

A very short time after the elevation of his son to the high office which he now possesses as Dewan to the Nabob, Nundcomar sent draughts of Letters to the Begum, which he recommended to her to write to me, enumerating the many encroachments which had been made by the English government on the rights of the Nizamut, and claiming them for the behalf of the Nabob. Copies of these draughts, communicated to me by the Resident, Mr. Middleton, and by other channels, are actually in my possession.

I trust to his own genius to furnish you with nearer proofs in the representations which he has already made, or which he may at this time convey to your knowledge.

My experience of his character has never altered my behaviour to him, but in such instances only, and such have occurred, as required it for the public tranquillity. I have supported the authority of Rajah Goordas, even in opposition to the Begum, because it was consistent

sistent with the credit and dignity of your Administration, that the system, which it had been thought proper on well considered grounds to appoint, should be steadily supported.

I HAVE also, in many little instances, by my countenance, assisted the personal influence of Maha Rajah NUND COMAR; and I have endeavoured to turn both his good and bad qualities to account for the advantage of the Honourable Company, in such occasions as could admit of the application of either; but I must say, that I have been disappointed in all my past expectations from him, and do not promise myself much benefit from his abilities in time to come, as the scene in which he had the fairest opportunity of displaying them, is now closed.

WHATEVER your resolution may be concerning the future fate of Mahommed Reza Cawn, it is my duty, although I believe it unnecessary, to represent, that whatever reparation you may think due for his past sufferings, the restoration of any part of the power which he before possessed, will inevitably tend to the injury of the Company's affairs, and the diminution of your influence and authority.

THERE can be but one government and one power in this Province. Even the pretensions of

of the Nabob may prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his release from the present state of pupilage, which prevents his asserting them.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful and obedient

Humble Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

*Extracts of Letters from Bengal, relative to the
Character of Maha Rajah Nundcomar.*

Extract of a Letter from Henry Van Sittart, Esq. dated at Fort William, the 16th of January, 1761.

I TOOK the opportunity of addressing you the 12th November by a Dutch ship, and duplicate per Onslow. I hope the Court will approve of the transactions there advised of, and of which a more circumstantial detail is given now. There are some I know, who will endeavour to describe every part of it in the worst light possible, and pretend even

even to make it out, that the Company have not profited, nor are likely to profit, by their late acquisitions. Such extensive possessions are not to be reduced in a day under new regulations, but that their income will soon be great, is not to be doubted. The difficulties that have occurred in the beginning in the Burdwan country, have been owing entirely to the diligence which some inhabitants of Calcutta, have used in persuading the Rajah of two maxims, both unjust; first, that his own power was great, and capable of resisting ours; and secondly, that it was our intention to treat him very ill, and turn him out of his Zemindary, in case of his submitting himself to our government.

Of the falsity of the first of these notions, he has been convinced, by the defeat given to his whole force, by a very small detachment of ours; of the falsity of the second he will be convinced also, as soon as he hears of the discovery I have had the good fortune to make of his ill advisers, by intercepting a Letter going to him from Calcutta. This Letter, with the man's confession, is entered on consultation the 13th instant.

NUNDOMAR, the writer of it, is one of those, who being on bad terms with the country government, has lived a long time under the English protection. As these sort of men are generally of a bad character, I trusted him with no part of my confidence,

confidence, so he had a mind to set up an authority of his own. Roydoolub, who lives here on the same footing, appears by this Letter, to have been concerned in the same correspondence. Those who have been already promised our protection, we are bound in honour to continue to protect, and I will faithfully do it, keeping them however under so good a watch, as to put it out of their power to prejudice the Company. I shall be very cautious how I add to the number of these refugees; for it is at the same time destroying the authority of the country government, and harbouring dangerous subjects.

NUNDCOMAR's chief associate of late, has been Mr. Fullarton, formerly a surgeon in your service. It was this Mr. Fullarton that had the principal hand in advising and penning the minute entered by Mr. Amyatt, in consultation the 8th instant, and subscribed to Messrs. Ellis and Smythe. He has always been at the head of a party, unless he could be at the head of the government, which I think him by no means fit for, and therefore I have never asked his advice. I made a minute in consultation the 12th, in answer to the before mentioned, by which I believe the three gentlemen of the Council are convinced they have been misled. I did not mention Mr. Fullarton's name in that minute, but gave so apt a description of him, that no one in Bengal can mistake him.

Extract

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 16th of January, 1761.

Par. 205. **T**HE President having had reason to suspect the conduct of Nundcomar, a person to whom we had given protection, and who was formerly employed in our service, in some affairs with the country government, narrowly watched his behaviour, and at last discovered a Letter from the said Nundcomar, to the Rajah of Burdwan, by which it appears, a secret correspondence has subsisted between him and the Rajah, and likewise between the Rajah and Roydoolub. Immediately on the Letter's being found, it was thought proper to place guards on the persons of Roydoolub, Nundcomar, and their principal adherents, and to seize their papers.

In our consultation of the 13th instant, you will observe, those two persons were called before us, and examined, and their papers delivered over to Mr. Hastings's inspection, who is to lay before us whatever he finds relative to the charge against them. We have great reason to hope we have now discovered one of the hidden sources that gave rise to the Burdwan Rajah's unexpected rebellion, or at least fomented it; and that once stopt, we doubt not to be able to bring him back to a sense of his duty. In the mean time we will continue our enquiries, and take such measures with the offenders, as we shall find adequate to their intentions against us.

Extract

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 23d of February, 1761.

Par. 31. WE informed your Honours, in our last address, of the suspicions we had of Roydoolub, and Nundcomar, being concerned in a secret correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, and others that were disaffected to the Company, and that their persons and papers had been secured. We examined into all their papers, and nothing positive appearing against Roydoolub, the guard was taken off from his house ; but of Nundcomar's intriguing against the Nabob's and Company's government, many proofs appeared, and strong suspicion of more, from the dark and mysterious terms in which some of the letters are wrote. Translations of the most material papers, together with all that passed on his examination, are transmitted to your Honours in a book apart, to which we beg leave to refer you ; and as, in the present circumstances, it is not in Nundcomar's power to do any injury to your affairs, nor can he leave the settlement if he was so inclined, it being our protection alone, that secures him from falling under the displeasure of the Nabob, we have therefore contented ourselves, with giving him a caution not to engage for the future, in any affairs which do not belong to him.

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 12th of November, 1761.

Par. 59. OUR sentiments with respect to protecting the servants of the country government, agree perfectly with yours. Those who have received such protections, have proved in general false friends to us, of which the transactions of Roydoolub and Nundcomar, mentioned in our advices of last season, may be esteemed a proof: those two do, however, remain under our protection; but we shall take care that the number of them does not increase.

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 30th of October, 1762.

Par. 112. IN our address of the 8th of April, 1762, I by the Godolphin, we informed you of an enquiry we had before us, concerning a packet of letters stopped on the road to Cuttack, and said to be a correspondence between Ramchurn and Camgar Cawn; and in our packet by that ship, we transmitted our proceedings at length, in the said enquiry. We remarked to your Honours, in our said address, that several strong circumstances appeared, to give reason to believe that the whole packet

packet was a forgery : fresh circumstances appearing since, to confirm the said belief, we entered into a farther examination of this matter, our proceedings wherein, are likewise transmitted in the Godolphin packet. This farther examination has fully convinced us that the Letters were forged ; and there is great reason to think that Nundcomar was the contriver thereof, with a design of ruining Ramchurn. We cannot say there are such direct proofs, as to fix the crime upon him with an absolute certainty, nor indeed is it possible there should be positive proofs, while he and his Moonshay (the only persons supposed to be present when the Letters were forged) have resolution enough to persist in denying it.

113. THE before mentioned Nundcomar, is the same person who was convicted some time ago, of carrying on a correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, of a nature inconsistent with his duty, and hurtful to your interest. We find also, that the same Nundcomar was instrumental in carrying on a correspondence between the Shahzadah and the French Governor General, before the capture of Pondicherry. This information was given to the President, and by him being laid before the Board, was proved by such positive evidence, as to leave no room to doubt of the fact. The least we could conclude upon such crimes was, that Nundcomar, being a person improper to be trusted with his liberty

berty in your settlement, and capable of doing mischief if he was permitted to go out of this province, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan, should therefore be kept confined to his own house, under so strict a guard, as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

114. In a separate Letter of the 8th of April, by the same ship, we acquainted your Honours of our having received from Mr. Batson, a parcel of Persian writings, said to be copies of letters between the Nabob, Coja Petrus, and others, of a dangerous nature. You will find by our said Letter, and the proceedings in our enquiry which accompanied it, that we greatly suspected this packet also to be a forgery; which suspicion grew stronger every day, from the evasions and excuses of the person who gave these copies to Mr. Batson, in complying with our demand, that he should produce one or more of the originals. After waiting about four months, having reason to believe that the whole was a forgery, invented with a design of making a difference between us and the Nabob, we ordered Mr. Batson to send Byaram, the Company's Vakeel, who gave him the information, to Calcutta; and at the same time we acquainted the Nabob, and his Deputy at Moorshadabad, with the whole affair, and the names of his two Moosheys, from one of whom, Byaram told Mr. Batson, he had received the copies, and the other he said had the

the originals. Byaram being arrived in Calcutta, and examined before the Board, declared the Persian copies were brought him by the hands of one Budde O'Din, a relation of the Moonshey; and the Moonsheys, on their part, being examined by the Nabob's Deputy at Moorshedabad, declared they never gave Byaram the said copies, or any other papers; and farther, that Budde O'Din was a person unknown to them, and a dependent of Byaram himself. If this last assertion is found, on farther enquiry, to be true, we think there is great reason to conclude that Byaram is a principal in the forgery, and that it will remain with him to produce Budde O'Din, whom we have not been able to find after the stillest search; and therefore the enquiry rests unfinished, until we see if the said Budde o'Din will be forth coming.

115. Our proceedings in this enquiry, as well as those relative to the French correspondence, are also sent in the Godolphin packet.

Extract of a Separate Letter from the Governor and Council, dated at Fort William, the 11th of March, 1765.

Par. 8. HAVING afterwards considered the arrangements and regulations necessary to be made in the government, it was resolved, on

berty in your settlement, and capable of doing mischief if he was permitted to go out of this province, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan, should therefore be kept confined to his own house, under so strict a guard, as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

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Extract of a Separate Letter from the Governor and Council, dated at Fort William, the 11th of March, 1765.

Par. 8. HAVING afterwards considered the arrangements and regulations necessary to be made in the government, it was resolved, on

account of Nazen ul Dowla's minority, and his entire ignorance in the affairs of government, having been never in the least engaged therein, till he went up to the city about two months before, that the whole charge should not rest upon him, nor upon Nundcomar, in whom he had expressed an inclination of reposing his entire confidence. Since then the whole trust appeared too great to be placed in one man, and that, from former circumstances in Nundcomar's conduct, we had much reason to distrust him, it was thought proper that another person should be appointed, at the Board's recommendation, in the capacity of Naib Subah, who should have immediately, under the Nabob, the chief management of all affairs; and no one at the same time, appearing so fit for this trust as Mahommed Reza Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, he was accordingly nominated for it. Under this Naib Subah it was agreed, that the business of the collection of the revenues, should be divided into two or more branches, as might afterwards appear proper; and the appointment or dismissal of the Mutsuddies of those branches, and the allotment of their several districts, be with our approbation; and that we should also be at liberty to point out and object, when improper persons were employed under them.

Extract of a Letter from John Spenger, Esq.
dated at Fort William, March 14, 1765.

Par. 8. I SHALL now proceed to make some observations on our transactions, in consequence of the demise of Jaffier Ally Cawn, the late Nabob.

9. We have thought it most prudent to support his eldest son in the government, as pointed out by the late Nabob. Certainly he is not equal to such a charge, but as much so, or more, than any of the family. To have sought for any one out of the family, might, as affairs are circumstanced, have been attended with very evil consequences to your affairs, and the country in general, at this juncture, besides the appearance of a justice it would wear; and what we have done, is consonant to your late orders, to support Jaffier and his family. This, therefore, was our plan as to the successor; and our proceedings now sent home, shew the steps we have taken to prevent too much power falling into any one man's hands under him, especially in those of Nundcomar, whose evil disposition to our affairs in general, is too notorious to you and us, but during the time of the late Nabob, it was thought too disgusting a measure to enforce his removal. We shall, however, by the measures pursuing, reduce his power within moderate bounds, if not

prevail on the Nabob totally to remove him, which must depend on the advices of our deputies at Moorshadabad, who are now there carrying our agreement with the Nabob into execution.

Extract of General Letter, dated at Fort William, the 5th of September, 1772.

Par. 13. THE appointments which have been thought indispensable upon the abolition of the office of Naib Subah, are as follows: A guardian to the young Nabob, a dewan of his household, and, for the business of the collections, a devan of the khalsa. The persons named to these trusts, are Munny Begum, (the relict of the late Nabob, Jaffies Ally Cawn,) guardian; Rajah Goordass, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, dewan; and Rajah Rajebullub, the son of the late Maha Rajah Doolubram, dewan of the khalsa.

14. THE nomination of Munny Begum to the superintendence of the household, and guardianship of the person of the Nabob, is a measure from which we expect the happiest consequences. Her known aversion to Mahommed Reza Cawn, and opposition of interests to his, render her the fittest person to eradicate his influence in the household; and her high rank and abilities, equally qualify her to represent the dignity of the family, without any

any danger to the Company, from such pretensions as might be apprehended from any male relation of Jassier Ally Cawn, or from the ambition of any other man of consideration, to whom such a trust might be delegated.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council, in their secret Department, dated Fort William, March 31st, 1773.

Par. 7. A COMPLETE set of our proceedings, relative to Rajah Shitabroy, forms a number in this packet. There was not at the beginning, any absolute charge against him, but only a suspicion, arising from the diminution of the revenues of the Bahar Province. This he attributes to the severity of the drought, and the consequent famine; and we found his representation confirmed, by a reference to the correspondence of Messrs. Rumbold and Alexander, as well as by the subsequent investigations of the Chief and Council of Patna, and the Collectors of that province. During the time, however, of his detention in Calcutta, encouragement having been given for accusations against him, Rajah Nundcomar, and Rajah Deerijnarain, produced a number of articles, amounting to Rs. 115,92,6-9 9 3; but upon enquiry into them, the greatest part, amounting to

to Rs. 91,41,887 11 6, we found to be entirely without foundation, and accordingly we have so far acquitted him. The remaining Rs. 24,50,841 13 9, requiring a local investigation, we have sent orders for that purpose, to the Chief and Council of Patna, and as in these articles, Rajah Shitabroy is not actually accused of any misconduct or embezzlement, but it is only surmised that he possibly may have been guilty, we have given him permission to reside at Calcutta or Moorshabad, as is most convenient to him, till the receipt of their answer; but we did not think it proper to extend this licence to Patna, least his presence there might occasion an undue influence, and obstruct the enquiry we have ordered,

Extract of a Letter from the Governor and Council, in their secret Department, dated at Fort William, August 16, 1773.

Par. 12. WE acquainted you, in the 18th paragraph of our Letter of the 1st of March last, from this department, by the Marquis of Rockingham, that we had made considerable progress in the enquiry against Mahomed Reza Cawn, but that we foresaw it would be a very tedious and troublesome business. We have great reason to continue confirmed in this opinion; for

for notwithstanding we have dedicated to it, all the time that we could possibly spare from the other indispensable duties of your government, we have only yet been able to go through the first article of impeachment, namely, the charge of his monopolizing grain during the famine. We have examined a number of evidences in support of this charge, but we must acknowledge that they do not establish any clear or conclusive proofs of the Nabob's guilt; on the contrary, the belief which prevailed in the country, of his being concerned in that trade, seems in a great degree to have taken its rise from the notions of the people, who, not having access to better intelligence, blended and mistook the duties of Mahommed Reza Cawn's public station, in the measures which he pursued for the relief of the city during the height of the famine, for the exertion of sordid views, to gratify and promote his private interest.

13. MAHOMMED Reza Cawn has delivered in a defence to this article, avowing his innocence of the charge, pointing out the measures which his public duty obliged him to take for the relief of the country at that melancholy conjuncture, and detecting a variety of falsehoods and contradictions, in the depositions of the evidences. This paper has not yet been recorded on our proceedings, nor have we thought it necessary to sum the proofs in this charge, until we shall have gone through the other articles of accusation.

14. The second article of impeachment, is the balance which is stated against him during the two years that he collected the Dacca revenues, under the Nabob Meer Jaffier.. This balance is grounded upon a *tihud*, or contract, and a *kistbundee*, which appear under Mahomed Reza Cawn's seal. In reply to the demand which it establishes, Mahomed Reza Cawn sets forth, that these deeds were extorted from him by violence, at a time when, through the machinations of Nundcomar, he was under confinement, and considered his life to be in danger, and that they were afterwards invalidated, or superseded, by writings, which he produces, under the sign manual of the Nabob Meer Jaffier. Nundcomar, on the other hand, continues to assert, that the balance established by this *kistbundee*, is justly due, and recoverable from Mahomed Reza Cawn. Thus circumstanced, without the assistance of farther lights or proofs, the only clue we have left, to lead to the investigation of the truth, and upon which to build a judgment, is to obtain, if possible, an account of the actual collections made in the province of Dacca for these years. We have with this view resolved, that our President shall call upon Nundcomar, for every paper and proof that he can produce in support of this charge, and that these shall be given in trust to Mr. Batwell, the Chief of Dacca, with full powers and instructions to trace and ascertain, either by the lights which they may afford, or by any other means

mears in his power, such as the acquiring of the Moffussul papers, or obtaining information from the antient Mutsuddies of the district, an exact account of the real collections for the two years in which Mahommed Reza Cawn was the Naib of Dacca.

*Extracts of Letters to Bengal, relative to the
Character of Maha Rajah Nundcomar.*

Extract of a General Letter to Bengal, dated
February the 22d, 1764.

Par. 37. **F**ROM the whole of your proceedings with respect to Nundcomar, there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring, by forgery and false accusations, to ruin Ramchurn; that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondences with the country powers, hurtful to the Company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shah Zadah and the French Governor General of Pondicherry. In short, it appears, he is of that wicked and turbulent disposition, that no harmony can subsist in a society, where he has the opportunity of interfering. We, therefore, most readily concur with you, that

Nundcomar

Nandcomat is a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in our settlements, and capable of doing mischief, if he is permitted to go out of the province, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan. We shall, therefore, depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions, as may be the means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals for the future.

38. IN the affair of Coja Petrus, there seems to us much reason to doubt the authenticity of the letters, and especially as the President has declared, that no such man as Cawn Bahadar, so often mentioned in them, was ever seen or heard of by him, nor any such proposal ever made to him, as is therein mentioned. But as you desire to be informed, what measures you may lawfully take in cases of this nature, and particularly what proofs are sufficient to authorize you to seize the papers of persons accused, we think it right to acquaint you in general, that where the accused are the subjects of the Indian Princes, great caution and circumspection must be used; and if actual proof cannot be procured, but you have reason to think the suspicion well founded, you are then to endeavour to get such person recalled; or removed by remonstrances to his employers, and upon due proof of guilt, you may send him yourselves to his employers, with such evidence of his guilt, as you shall be possessed of. The intercepting of letters, may,

may, upon a well grounded suspicion, be in some measure justified, but the seizing of papers is a matter of a very delicate nature; and without the fullest and most satisfactory evidence of the facts, and a certainty of finding such papers as would authenticate such facts, we cannot encourage you to pursue such a measure.

Extract of a General Letter to Bengal, dated
March the 3d, 1775.

Par. 46. **T**HE conduct of Nundcomar, in the part he has taken against Mahomed Reza Cawn, appears to us so very inconsistent and unworthy, that we feel a repugnance to the continuance of his son in the high office of Roy Royan of the Province. And as the acquittal of Mahomed Reza Cawn, warrants us again to employ him, we direct, that, if he can with propriety accept of that office, under the regulations and restrictions established by our President and Council, and with the salary granted to Rajah Goordass for executing the same, he be forthwith appointed thereto, and receive a proper khellaut, and such other marks of distinction, as are usually conferred on natives on like occasions. We mean not by this appointment, to restore Mahomed Reza Cawn to any improper degree of power, but merely

merely to testify our satisfaction, on finding his former conduct has been so much better than we expected.

47. AND in regard to Rajah Goordafs, though we cannot consent to his remaining Roy Royan of the Province, yet, in consideration of the favourable character we have received of him, we have no objection to his being appointed to any office of less importance, if you shall be of opinion, that his behaviour has entitled him to such a mark of our indulgence.

Extract of Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, the 11th July, 1772, relative to the Appointment of Nundcomar's Son to the Office of Dewan to the Nabob's Household.

THE President proposes Rajah Goordafs, the son of Maha Rajah Nundcomar, for the office of Dewan to the Nabob's Household. The inveterate and rooted enmity which has long subsisted between Mahomed Reza Cawn and Nundcomar, and the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival, to counteract the designs of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to eradicate that influence which he still retains in the

government of this province, and more especially in the family of the Nabob, are the sole motives for this recommendation. The Honourable Company, in their Letter by the Lapwing, order, that both " Mahommed Reza Cawn, and every person " employed by or in conjunction with him, or act- " ing under his influence, shall be divested of any " farther charge or influence in the collections," and they farther direct, that a strict scrutiny be made into his conduct, in the exercise of his office of Naib Subah, from the suspicion of his having been " equally unfaithful in the discharge of that " trust."

IT IS very evident, from these orders, that it was the intention of the Court of Directors, to make an entire reformation in the government of these provinces, and to begin with the abolition of that authority, which had been established in it during the course of the last seven years. Indeed, if this had not been expressed, it must necessarily have been implied in their commands; since it was not to be expected, that a new plan of government would effectually take place, while the influence of the former subsisted. The same man, till lately, had the charge of the Nabob's household, the sole application of his vast stipends, the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenues of the province. In a word, every branch of the administration was centered in the person of Mahommed Reza

Reza Cawn. 'It is true, that his authority was much diminished in the collections, by the institution of the Supervisors; but he still retained an influence in most parts of the province, and in some of his secret power, was even superior to that of the Supervisor. In the direction of the Nabob's household, he acted without check or controul. The Nabob's servants were all of his appointment, his creatures and dependents. These still continue in charge of the Nabob's person, and in possession of his mind, which they may be naturally supposed to bend to such inclinations and purposes, as may best suit the views and interests of their patron.'

THESE reasons will justify the nomination of a man to supply the place of the late Naib Subah, who is known to be his most violent opponent, and most capable of opposing him. It is not pretended that these ends are to be obtained merely from the abilities of Rajah Goordass; his youth and inexperience render him, although unexceptionable in other respects, inadequate to the real purposes of his appointment, but his father hath all the abilities, perseverance, and temper, requisite for such ends, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding any man in Bengal. These talents have heretofore made him obnoxious to government itself, and therefore it might be thought unsafe to trust him with an authority so near the Nabob, whom he might inspire with his own ambition, and assist with the

means of carrying it to the most dangerous extremes. It is possible that this might be the case, were he immediately and formally entrusted with the charge in question, and therefore it is proposed to confer it upon his son, who is of himself incapable of making a very bad use of it, and to allow of his acting under the influence and instruction of his father, who, holding no office under the Nabob, and being a subject of our government, may be removed without eclat, or the least appearance of violence, whenever he shall be proved, or even suspected, to abuse his trust, and apply it to the designs hurtful to the interests of the Honourable Company.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Middleton delivers in the following minute.

FOR the reasons which have been so properly and powerfully urged by the President, I entirely approve of the choice he has made in the person of Rajah Goordass, as a man the most eligible to superintend the affairs of the Nabob's household, and at the same time to complete the reformation which the Company have thought necessary to be made in the government of this country. Young and inexperienced himself, without that temper of mind which denotes ambition, no apprehensions need be

be entertained of his making an improper use of the authority with which he is invested ; yet, directed by the counsel of his father, whose abilities, and inveteracy to the late Naib Subah, are well known, he not only must be deemed capable of discharging all the functions of his office with applause, but must appear particularly calculated to answer those ends the Honourable Company have in view, by the total suppression of that influence, which has hitherto been placed in the person of Mahammed Reza Cawn ; and this without any danger that schemes of ambition will be formed by the father himself, or, if formed, without a possibility of executing them, seeing that the power, from which his consequence is only reflected, will be so circumscribed, and wholly unable to screen him, on the least breach of confidence, from the just resentment of those to whom he is indebted for the degree of consideration he holds. .

SAM. MIDDLETON.

Messrs. Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham, object to the proposition of appointing Rajah Goôrdas De-wan to the Nabob, and will assign their reasons at a future meeting.

Extract of Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, dated at Cossimbuzar, the 26th of July, 1772.

MESSRS. Dacres, Lawrell, and Graham, lay before the Committee the following minute, in support of their dissent from the President's proposition, for appointing Rajah Goordass Dewan to the Nabob.

THE basis on which we object to the appointment of Rajah Goordass to the office of "Dewan" of the household, and manager of the Nabob's "finances," is because we esteem it in effect, the appointment of Nundcomar, who, with respect to the various accusations against his political conduct, and the orders which have been in consequence received from the honourable the Court of Directors, stands in such a predicament, as to preclude, in our opinion, an acquiescence in the President's proposition. We crave the patience of the Committee to peruse those testimonies, faithfully collected from the public records of our government, on which we ground this opinion.

Extract from September Consultations, 1762. ·

July 31. THE President having had information that Nundcomar was assisting in carrying on a correspondence between the Shah Zadah and the government of Pondicherry, desires that Monick Chowdry may be called before the Board, and interrogated thereon.

SEPTEMBER 30th. The Board being now met, to consider and determine on the subject and proof of this accusation against Nundcomar,

READ the several proceedings thereon since the commencement of the enquiry, whereby it appears to be clearly proved, by the testimony of several witnesses corroborating the declaration of Gorichunt Battergee, that he, the said Gorichunt, was not in Calcutta at the time Nundcomar alleges in his defence, to have given him the letters from Mr. Law.

NUNDCOMAR being therefore called in and acquainted therewith, was asked if he had any thing else to plead in his defence, but is found to be able to urge nothing material.

The question being put,—Whether, from the facts stated, and the evidence and depositions taken before

before this Board, Nundcomar is guilty of the charge laid against him or not ?

The Board are unanimously of opinion that he is guilty ; but

AGREED to defer passing a sentence upon him, until they are able to form a judgment on the subject of the other enquiry relative to the intercepted letters.

OCTOBER 4th. The Board having taken into consideration the whole of the proceedings in the enquiry regarding the intercepted letters, are of opinion, as there are no direct proofs of the charge appear in the course of the evidence, that they had better defer coming to any final decision upon the matter ; but as it fully appears, from the subject and substance of this enquiry, that Nundcomar is a man every way capable, and inclined to create disturbances in the country, prejudicial to the Company's interest, the Board are of opinion, that he ought not to be trusted with his liberty.

AGREED, therefore, that he be kept in his own house, under so strict a guard, as to prevent his writing or receiving Letters.

N. B. These proceedings, commencing the 27th of April, 1761, and ending the 11th of

April, 1762, and continued again from the 31st of July, 1762, to the date of the last extract, contain charges against Nundcomar, of forging the intercepted letters, with an intent to ruin Ramchurn, and of being instrumental in conveying letters from the Shah Zadah to the French Governor General at Pondicherry. He (Nundcomar) was also convicted, in the course of these proceedings, of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the Burdwan Rajah, and other rebellious Zemindars, who were in arms against Meér Cossim, as appears by the words of Mr. Van Sittart's minute, recorded the 31st of July, 1762 : " For " the enmity which Nundcomar had long borne " against Ramchurn, was well known, and had " been aggravated just before, by Ramchurn's in- " tercepting, by my orders, that *treacherous* letter " which Nundcomar had written to the Burdwan " Rajah, and of which he was fully convicted, " before the Board, the 13th of January, 1761."

But as those consultations are voluminous, and as they are at the same time open for farther reference and inspection, if necessary, we have contented ourselves with extracting the foregoing opinion of Nundcomar's general character; and indeed, seek for proofs of it where we will, for a succession of years, we find him uniformly delineated to be a man intriguing and untrustworthy.

Extract from the Company's General Letter
to their President and Council, dated
February the 22d, 1764.

Par. 37. **F**ROM the whole of your proceedings, with respect to Nundcomar, there seems to be no doubt of his endeavouring, by forgery and false accusation, to ruin Ramchurn; that he has been guilty of carrying on correspondence with the country powers hurtful to the Company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shah Zadah and the French Governor General of Pondicherry. In short, it appears that he is of that *wicked and turbulent disposition*, that no harmony can subsist in society, where he has the opportunity of interfering. We, therefore, must readily concur with you, that Nundcomar is a person improper to be trusted with his *liberty in our settlements*, and capable of doing *mischief*, if he is permitted *to go out of the province*, either to the northward, or towards the Deccan. We shall, therefore, depend upon your keeping such a watch over all his actions, as may be the means of preventing his disturbing the quiet of the public, or injuring individuals, for the future.



Extract of Meer Ashruff's Narrative, recorded on Consultation, October the 11th, 1764.

As the Major (Major Camac) continued pressing me very earnestly, I acquainted him with every thing that had come to my knowledge, to the following purport.

ONE day Hajee Abdulla, who fought for Meer Cossim in Patna Fort, and is now with the army in Rajah Nundcomar's service, informed me, that Rajah Nundcomar had been speaking to him about making an agreement with Meer Cossim, whereby he (Nundcomar) would engage constantly to send him faithful accounts of all the transactions of the English army, on condition that he would appoint him to the Dewanee of the province of Bengal, &c. Moreover, he had set his seal to a blank paper, and given it to a person to carry it to Meer Cossim, and write thereon whatever engagements might be necessary for his satisfaction, and deliver it to him. I told Hajee Abdulla, I was not a Hircarrah, that I should represent this matter to the Nabob; that Moorly Durr has the office of Hircarrah, and that he should inform him of these particulars, that he might represent them to his Excellency. Accordingly Hajee Abdulla acquainted Moorly Durr with the affair, whereupon he sent some of his Hircarrah

rahs to apprehend the people who were carrying the paper under Nundcomar's seal ; but as Nundcomar's people went away the day before, the Hir-carrah's could not catch them. Moreover, when Dundyaul Missar received the agreement from you and the Nabob, and was dismissed to Rajah Bulwand Sing, Rajah Nundcomar spoke to him by night in his tent, in the following terms : " It is out of friendship that I give this admonition : tell the Rajah it is unjustifiable and dishonourable, for him to revolt from his master ; these gentlemen here are wavering in their councils : be sure you fail not to mention this."

Copy of a Letter from Rajah Nundcomar to
Rajah Bulwand Sing, recorded on Consul-
tation, dated October the 11th, 1764.

I HAVE had the pleasure to receive your letter by the hands of Dundvaul Missar. A treaty is now sent you from hence, under the care of the said Missar. I, who am sincerely your well wisher, and look upon your prosperity as my own, write you, out of friendship, that your revolting from your master and your duty, is contrary to the rules of honour and justice. Here, that these gentlemen are every minute changing their counsels, and pursue nothing with steadiness, you should not place any

any confidence in their writings or agreements: Dundyaul Missar acquainted me fully with the message you sent by him; and I have sent you by his mouth, the particulars of my answer and advice, agreeably to my friendship for you: moreover, he has seen with his own eyes; he will inform you of every thing. ' You should act conformable thereto, and believe me to be your well-wisher. . '

Copy of a Letter to the Honourable President, from Mr. Van Sittart, recorded on Consultation, dated March 16th, 1765.

AGREEABLY to your orders, I now lay before you what information I have received relative to Nundcomar's treasonable correspondence with the enemy. On my arrival at Patna, in my way to camp, Meer Ashruff, being introduced to me by Mr. Billers, complained much of the hardships he had suffered on account of his accusation against Nundcomar, and begged that I would use my endeavours to discover the truth, that he might be freed from the imputation of falsehood, and his business freed from the obstructions, by which it had been long totally put a stop to. I immediately asked him by what means he had got Nundcomar's letter into his hand's: He said, that on the news of Bulwand's Sing's having paid a visit to Sujah ul Dowlah,

Dowlah, and offered his service to him, he 'wrote to Ramchund Pundit, his Gomastah at Benares, expressing his surprise at this his conduct, and desiring to know the reason of it. His Gomastah, in answer, sent him Nundcomar's letter, which was given him by a Moonshy of Bulwand Sing, and wrote him that was the reason. In proof of this assertion, I made him give me a copy of his letter to Ramchund Pundit, and Ramchund's original answer, which, together with their translations, I have here inclosed, (No 1 and 2.) I then enquired what could be his reason for never having shewn Nundcomar's Letter to General Camac : He intimated, that looking upon him to be prejudiced in Nundcomar's favour, he did not choose to shew it him alone, but said he told him he had *farther proofs* against Nundcomar, which he would produce in presence of Messrs. Batson and Billers ; but the General would not consent to any examination in concert with those gentlemen. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive any other reason for Meer Ashruff's not having produced the letter than that which he assigns, as I am well assured it was in his hands, Doctor Fullarton having told me that he had himself seen it, and actually had it in his possession, at the time when Meer Ashruff was strongly pressed to sign the paper testifying Nundcomar's innocence. When I set out for Benares, I carried Nundcomar's original letter with me, and the first opportunity I had of seeing Bulwand Sing, I produced it to him, and

and made an enquiry of him concerning the authority of it. His evidence on that subject, you will see fully from the inclosed paper, (No. 3.) From the matinier Meer Ashruff has expressed himself in his narrative, one would imagine Bulwand Sing had only told him that there was a person who betrayed our secrets, without mentioning his name: but upon my making enquiry of Meer Ashruff concerning this matter, he said, that after much solicitation from Shawbazbeg and himself, Bulwand Sing plainly informed them, that Nundcomar was the man. This account is confirmed by Doctor Fullarton in the inclosed letter, (No 4.) The letter of Bulwand Sing, which Doctor Fullarton speaks of, I have not at present by me; but I remember it contains no more than what Doctor Fullarton mentions, referring him for particulars to Meer Ashruff and Shawbazbeg. No. 5 is a translation of part of a paper which I am informed was in the hands of Mr. Batson's Moonshay at Patna, before the Nabob Meer Jaffier, set out from thence for Calcutta: it was copied by Cummur ul Deen, Sir Robert Fletcher's. Moonshay, who says, that he before saw a copy of the same paper in the hands of Byaram Chowdry. Some farther account of this paper, may perhaps be obtained from Mr. Batson's Moonshay, and Byaram Chowdry. Anonymous as it now appears, I should not think it worthy of the least notice, but that it is in some measure confirmed by the following information, which I received

ceived from Mahommed Gous Hafiz Israr Cawn, (Meer Cossim's head Moonshey,) who came down with me from Allahabad, viz in the month of Sawun, (from the 24th of January to the 24th of February.) Mahommed Waris Soo'aberdar, with two Hir-carrahs, came from Lucknow to Allahabad, in their way to Bengal. They had with them a letter for Nundcomar, given them by Cullum, a favourite servant of Sujah ul Dowlah, and Naib of Hussen Ally Cawn, with whom (Hussen Ally Cawn) a Vakeel of Nundcomar has always resided, from the beginning of the war between Sujah ul Dowlah and the English, to the present time. No. 6 is Nundcomar's original letter to Bulwand Sing. Doctor Fullarton has told me, that he believes he could bring twenty people, who would swear to its being the hand writing of a Moonshey of Nundcomar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. VANSITTART.

N. B. The translation of the original Letter, No. 6, is entered under No. 3.

From Ramchund Pundit to Meer Ashruff.

I HAVE had the honour to receive your letter, wherein you write, that as Rajah Bulwand Sing entered into an agreement with the Nabob, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn and the English gentlemen, to act entirely in conjunction with them, what can be the reason that, in contradiction thereto, he is now coming with Sujah ul Dowlah, and is ready for war; that I should make enquiry into this matter, and inform you thereof. Sir, Rajah Nundcomar has written to Rajah Bulwand Sing, that these gentlemen are not firm to their agreements, and this is the reason of his having joined with Sujah ul Dowlah. This letter the Rajah has delivered to me; inclosed I send it to you; thereby you will be acquainted with the particulars: this is the cause of Bulwand Sing's departure from his agreement. Indeed, when a dewan, who has the management of affairs, writes in this manner, how can any one have confidence in his master's agreements?

THE 24th of February, 1765, Rajah Bulwand Sing being on a visit to Mr. Marriot at Benares, I took out of my pocket, in the presence of Messrs. Marriot, Taylor, and Polier, and several of the Rajah's own people, the original letter which Meer Ashruff accused Nundcomar of having written to the

the Rajah, and presented to the Rajah, and at the time said to him, " Mr. Marriott and I are desirous of knowing whether, when Sujah ul Dowlah was preparing to invade the Bengal dominions, you received this letter from Nundcomar, or not ? " After reading the letter he replied, " It would be a dishonour to me to speak a falsehood, and speaking the truth may be attended with ill consequences to me ; but," says he, (addressing himself to Mr. Marriott,) " I will inform you by and by." Accordingly, about half an hour afterwards, he told Mr. Marriott secretly, he had received it. Mr. Marriott asked him if he had written any answer to it ? He said that he had, that he would look for it among his papers, and if he could find it, would send it him. Immediately after, I seated myself close to the Rajah, and asked him again secretly, whether he had received the letter, or not ? He told me that he had. I asked him how Meer Ashruff had got it into his hands ? He told me that he sent it to him. I then said, You must remember, that at that time, there was a negotiation on foot between you and the English, Meer Ashruff informed me, that on the news of your having paid a visit to Sujah ul Dowlah, and offered him your service, he wrote to his Gomastah, expressing his surprise at your conduct, and desiring to know the reason of it ; and that his Gomastah, in answer, inclosed him Nundcomar's letter, and told him that letter was the reason : pray is this matter

matter of fact, or not? He answered, You are acquainted with all particulars already, what occasion is there for me to mention them to you? I repeated my question, But is what Meer Ashruss told me matter of fact, or not? He said, It is so entirely. I then asked him if he had received any more of such sort of letters from Nundcomar? He told me that he had received two or three, but that Sujah ul Dowlah had received fifty I asked him if he had seen any of those letters which were written to Sujah ul Dowlah? He said he had not, but that, being with Sujah ul Dowlah, he very well knew that he did receive them I desired he would let me have those two or three letters that were written to himself he told me that he would look for them among his papers, and deliver them to Mr Marriot.

Benares,

Signed

February 26th, 1765.

GEORGE VAN SITTART,

WHAT is mentioned in this narrative regarding Bulwand Sing and myself, I assert to be fact.

Benares,

February 26th, 1765.

RAND. MARRIOTT.

Copy of Dr. Fullarton's Letter to Mr. Van Sittart.

DEAR SIR,

ENCLOSED I send you a letter, received from Bulwand Sing about the end of April, 1764, in which he plainly shews a kind of diffidence of our sincerity in the manner of our treating, and that every thing that passed among us, was known to the enemy; and in this letter he gives this for reason, that there was so many people employed in the management of the treaty with him, that he was at a loss to know what to think of it.

ABOUT the same time, at our camp at Buxan, Meer Ashruff informed me to the same purpose, with respect to Nundcomar, and his letter to Bulwand Sing, as he hath set forth in his letter to your brother.

I am, dear Sir,

With the utmost respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Patna,

(Signed)

February 20th, 1765.

W. FULLARTON.

N. B. Both

N. B. Both Shawbazbeg and Ashruff, agreed in their account that Bulwand Sing had only impeached Nundcomar of treachery.

W. FULLARTON.

NUNDCOMAR wrote by his Vakeel to Sujah ul Dowlah, " That if he would drive the " English out of the country, he would make him " a nazirana of a crore of rupees, and give up the " Patna province to his possession ; " but Sujah ul Dowlah did not consent to his desire. He therefore sent his Vakeel Syed Roo Olla, to Hosun Ally Cawn, (Sujah ul Dowlah's Aruzbeggy) with a note for several Jacks of rupees, requesting that he would use his endeavours to persuade Sujah ul Dowlah to his scheme. Hosun Ally Cawn, with a view to enrich himself, made the strongest representations on the subject to Sujah ul Dowlah, and at length prevailed upon him : Accordingly, Syed Roo Olla is still at Sujah ul Dowlah's court on this business.

Extract from Consultation, Secret Department, March 16th, 1765.

Letter from the Deputation, Moorshabad, dated March 10th.

IN a day or two, we are in hopes of completing such a state of the present collections and divisions of the revenues, as may enable us to propose to you, the distribution you direct: but as it has been proposed to place one branch in the hands of Nundcomar, we think it necessary, before this be fixed, to acquaint you, that Mr. George Van Sittart, just arrived from the army, has communicated to us some very corroborative proofs of the treacherous correspondence imputed to Nundcomar in April 1764, which may, perhaps, induce you to alter the intended partition of business. The facts as attested, must, for the present, destroy all confidence between us and Nundcomar, and if fully proved, must expose him to the severest resentment of our government.

The President informs the Board, Mr. George Van Sittart arrived yesterday in town, and that he had desired him to produce the proofs which the gentlemen of the deputation mention him to be possessed of in their last letter, concerning the treacherous correspondence imputed to Nundcomar

in last April, and he accordingly now lays before them the following letter from, and papers therein referred to.

(HERE is inserted Mr. Van Sittart's letter, and papers already given.)

READ the consultation of the 11th of October last.

READ also the following letters from Messrs. Camac, Batson, Billers, and Swinton, containing the information they were then called upon to give on this subject.

THE Board again taking this issue into consideration, from the *circumstances before them it appears, supposing the charge to be fully proved against DUND-
COMAR*, that it is absolutely unsafe, either for us or the Nabob, that he should have any the smallest share in the business of the government, and therefore, as there now appear such corroborative circumstances against him,

IT is resolved, that he be immediately called to Calcutta, and the enquiry into it here resumed.

AGREED, therefore, that the deputies do make a proper representation on the subject to the Nabob, and desire, as the enquiry can only properly be made

made here, that he will send him down accordingly; that he shall have a fair and candid examination; and when the same is completed, his Excellency be fully advised and consulted on the measures still further necessary. That the President do also address the Nabob on the occasion, referring him to the gentlemen for particulars, and urging his compliance with the application to be made to him by them. That Doctor Fullarton, as before mentioned, Meer Ashruff, Ramchund Pundit, his Gomastah, be called from Patna, and Hadjee Abdulla (mentioned in Meer Ashruff's narrative to be acquainted with this and other circumstances of Nundcomar's treachery) from Moorshadabad, where we find he now is, to give their personal evidences on the charge. A letter is accordingly wrote to the deputies, with a copy of the proceedings for their guidance, and a letter to Patna for the three evidences. As the branch of the revenue intended to be allotted to Nundcomar, may suffer greatly by his absence, it appearing not safe to trust so great a charge solely to the management of his servants or creatures, while his character lays under so dishonourable an imputation, with such particular proofs of his delinquency,

AGREED; the deputies be desired to urge to the Nabob, the disposal of such allotment to other trusty servants, until we have come to a determination concerning Nundcomar.

N B The Nabob for some time declined complying with the Council's desire, and upon the deputies applying for fresh orders, the Council directed them, (Consultation 25th of March,) should the Nabob persevere in his refusal, to seize Nundcomar, and send him a prisoner to Calcutta

Extract of the First Letter from the Deputies at Moorshadabad, dated the 25th of February, 1765.

WE found the Nabob's mind greatly prepossessed with the suspicion of our aiming to raise Mahommed Reza Cawn to the Subahship. We soon convinced him how idle were his fears on this head, and how needless and absurd the steps we were now taking to secure him in the most effectual manner, in the full and quiet enjoyment of the Subahdarry, by the faith of the most solemn treaty, if we actually had any such design. This naturally led us to enquire of the Nabob concerning the perwannah he had wrote to Mahommed Reza Cawn, forwarded in his letter to the President, under date the 29th instant, expressly forbidding him to stir from Dicca, notwithstanding he knew the purport of the letter wrote by the President, with the approbation of the Board, entreating him to set out immediately and meet the deputies here, and after that he had assured Mr Middleton, that this

this perwannah, which was sent sealed up in that addressed for the Governor, should be expressed in the same terms. This was fully proved to have been dictated by Nundcomar, in examining the Moonshey in presence of the Nabob.

Extracts from the further Letters of the
Deputies at Moorshadabad. One of the
3d of March.

WE before mentioned that we thought it not adviseable to seat the Nabob on the musnud, till Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival. The Nabob himself, by no means expressed his desire to have it done till he arrived, and has ever since seemed willing to defer it, and it was done this day at our particular desire. We could by no ways account for the Nabob's backwardness to be seated on the musnud till this morning, when Nundcomar came to us with a perwannah to the Nabob, obtaining from the King, through Shitabroy, under the private seal, in consequence of the application that the Nabob had made on the death of his father, promising his confirmation in the Subalship, and desiring to know whether a tent should, as usual on such occasions, be erected without the city, where the Nabob might publickly, and with due reverence receive, this perwannah of the King.

We went soon after to the kella, and explained the impropriety of such a measure to the Nabob, who was so easily convinced, and readily acquiesced in receiving the government only from the Company, that we suppose it a measure put it into his head by some ill advisers. If sunnuds from the King should ever appear necessary, we explained to the Nabob that they were to be obtained through the Board's application alone. He seemed perfectly happy with what had been done for him, and fully content to rest himself upon the Board's advice and protection.

ONE of the 7th of March.

THAT you may not be surprised that we have not yet addressed you on the other points of your instructions, it is necessary you should be acquainted, that we find it a much more difficult and more laborious work than we expected, to acquire such a knowledge of the revenues, and their present arrangements, as is needful, before we can prepare for your ultimate decision, such an allotment of the collections, as may answer the intentions of the 4th article of the treaty. We are daily busied in this matter, and have to struggle against every impediment which Nundoomar, and the Mutiuddies under him in his office, can throw in our way, as few accounts seem to have been settled since the war with Meer Costim. It is necessary you should be acquainted,

acquainted, that neither Nundcomar, the Zemindars, nor the officers of the cutcherry under him, made the usual acknowledgements to the Naib Subah, though confirmed in that employment by the public interchange of treaties, till he was absolutely ordered by the Nabob, four days afterwards, on our representation. Such a public opposition to the Board's measures, appears extremely insolent, and has greatly obstructed our proceedings and as, in contradiction to the article of the treaty in favour of Mahommed Reza Cawn, he appeared still a principal adviser of the Nabob, and to be transacting business, and carrying on correspondence, which only belonged to the Naib Subah, we thought it necessary, in presence of the Nabob, he and the Moonshey should be given to understand the limits of Nundcomar's authority, and that it was confined wholly to the collections. Such an intimation was the more expedient, from the correspondence which had been commenced with the King, and the other officers of his court, for procuring the sunnuds. The Nabob has now acquainted the King with Mahommed Reza Cawn's appointment, and we have fully made known to both, your sentiments as to the procuring sunnuds from the King. Nundcomar has made a very unbecoming struggle in opposition to your orders, to retain the absolute power he had assumed, and if a watchful eye be not kept on his intrigues, he will certainly embroil the Nabob's affairs, and resume

the

the power you have meant to place in the hands of Mahommed Reza Cawn, as all the people about the Nabob's person, are absolutely devoted to Nundcomar, and enemies to this change; and though men of very low condition, we have reason to fear they have a very improper influence over the mind of the young Nabob, though he always expresses himself to us perfectly happy in what has been done for him. Of the affairs of Bahar, we have as yet no information, and have been told by Nundcomar, that there is no account hitherto, come of those collections, by which we might obtain a general idea of the whole. A Mutfuddy, who was of the Patna khalsa in Cossim's time, states the revenue at above a crore of rupees.

Extract from the Letter of the Deputies at Moorshadabad, in answer to the Board's orders for persuading the Nabob to remove Nundcomar, and send him to Calcutta.

IF the Nabob had the dependence he ought to have on the English, he would not, in so warm a manner, be protecting a man, we must esteem an enemy to us, nor put his own honour, and the honour of at least a suspected traitor, to us on a footing. How shameful must it appear, that he

shall

shall hesitate to part with such a man, or propose himself to accompany him to Calcutta! Such a step on his part, would be placing Nundcomar in the highest point of view. It is putting his attachment to Nundcomar and us, too much on the level, and his presence in Calcutta, on such an occasion, would so over awe the witnesses, that the truth could scarcely be got from them nor could such a proceeding but give a very low impression of him through the kingdom, and throw the affairs every where into confusion, and we doubt not will, in every respect, seem as improper to you as it now does to us, to admit of it

After all, supposing that Nundcomar should ever be cleared of that, the influence, it is manifest, he has over the Nabob, the constant endeavours he has used to secure his own power, and thwart the plan the Board would have pursued, the resentment he entertains himself, and instils into the Nabob, against Mihommed Reza Cawn, not to mention the very great abuses there appear to be in the collections, serve only to confirm our opinion, and that of the Board, how extremely dangerous and improper it is, that such a person should continue longer to be the chief adviser and director of this young and inexperienced Prince

ALL these extracts serve to place, in the strongest point of view, the dangerous character and intriguing disposition of Nundcomar, as well as his uniform disaffection to the Company. They exhibit him accused of practices tending materially to prejudice the Company's affairs, and these committed not only when he was out of place and employ, but also when a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, had elevated him to the highest pinnacle of greatness, that could be enjoyed by a subject in these provinces. In the former situation, we find him endeavouring, by forgery and false accusation, to ruin individuals, guilty of carrying on correspondence hurtful to the Company's interests, and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shah Zadah and the French Governor General of Pondicherry. For all these misdemeanours, our then administration unanimously adjudged Nundcomar deserving of perpetual restraint, and the honourable the Court of Directors confirmed the sentence. In the latter situation, at a time when mutiny and desertion had spread their infection throughout our army, and when a most formidable invasion impended Bengal, and threatened the very existence of the Company, we again observe Nundcomar, not only counteracting the views of the Company's government, to draw off Rajah Bulwand Sing from his alliance, which must have greatly weakened the strength of Sujah ul Dowlah, by advising the Rajah against the measure, and declaring the English

lish an unsteady people, not to be trusted, but also labouring under a strong suspicion of being engaged in inviting and exciting Sujah ul Dowlah to commence the war, and in carrying on a correspondence with the fugitive Meer Coffim. The Board, in consequence of the criminal light in which they viewed these transactions, directed Nundcomar to be sent a prisoner from Moorshabad to Calcutta, in March 1765, and actually summoned evidences from that place and Patna, in order to his being brought to a trial. This trial not having taken place, we consider as an additional and corroborative presumption of his guilt; for notwithstanding the administration which succeeded the one that removed Nundcomar, was composed of members who were well inclined to him, and disposed to controvert every act and measure of their predecessors, yet even under this prejudice, they did not presume to acquit Nundcomar, but they thought proper to confine him to his house, and entirely exclude him from any share in the administration; a decision which could only arise from an impressed conviction of Nundcomar's guilt, had they brought him to trial. Besides these circumstances, of the highest criminal nature, against a state, it is well known that, in the negotiations the President and Council had to transact with the Nabob Meer Jassier in 1764, every artifice was employed, and every difficulty started by Nundcomar, that could tend to retard the progress of those

those négociations, and to obstruct their being terminated for the Company's advantage. A similar conduct is again adopted by him, at the time of the accession of Najim 'ul Dowlah, where we find he strives to thwart the views, and oppose the influence of the Company in the Nabob's councils; circumstances strongly complained of by the deputation at the city, in their many letters to the Board above quoted. It may be argued, that in these instances, he manifested his zeal for the interest of his immediate masters, but surely it was no proof of his regard or attachment to the Company; and the latter qualities are directed to be considered as essential requisites in our present choice. A man thus possessed of talents for intrigue, and a proneness to exercise them on all occasions, even to the prejudice of the Company's affairs, we can never esteem a proper person to be chosen dewan of the household, and manager of the finances of a minor Nabob, especially at a time when the situation of our territories, both with respect to the designs of the French, and those of the Mahrattis, render the investing such a man with the faintest power, or the most distant opportunity of doing mischief, equally dangerous and impolitic. It can never, we think, be a maxim, either in prudence or in policy, to repeat a trial of the services of a man, whose bad principles are so very notorious, and who has been already proved to have repeatedly exerted them to the injury of our

our state, and as it is not refused, that the son of Nundcomar is to act under the instruction and influence of the father, we hope that we shall be justified in holding from him our suffrages, knowing that he has neither the abilities nor the resolution, to dare to contradict his father's will.

MAHOMMED Reza Cawn's power and influence in the country, have been on the decline, ever since the establishment of our Council of Revenue, and Supervisors in the districts, and with his dismission from all his offices, we apprehend they have totally expired, but admitting that any relicts of them do still remain, and that the present appointment would be attended with the desirable purpose of effectually eradicating them, we think it would be purchasing this object at too great an expence, were we thereby to expose the affairs of our employers, to the risk of being involved in fresh troubles, by the machinations of Nundcomar, more especially as we can fix that choice upon some other person, who is equally, from every motive and consideration, the enemy of Mahomed Reza Cawn, whose character is fair and unblemished, and whose loyalty and attachment to the Company, have been repeatedly proved, and never suspected.

We beg leave to conclude this minute with declaring, that we differ from the sentiments of the
President

President on this point with pain and reluctance; sensible of the good effects which must ever result from unanimity in the conduct of the Company's affairs; but when our sense of the duty and fidelity we owe to our employers, of the express letter of their past orders, which we have quoted, and our ideas of those now before us, which direct that we be guided in our choice, by a regard to the public good, and the safety and interest of the Company, when considerations, we say, of this nature, influence us to that contrary way of thinking, we flatter ourselves we shall be justified in dissenting.

P. M. DACRES.

Coffimbazar,

JAMES LAWRELL:

July 26th, 1772.

J. GRAHAM.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, dated the 28th of July, 1772.

The President delivers in the following minute :

THE President feels a reluctance to dwell any longer on a subject which has divided the opinions of the Committee, and already engrossed too much of their attention, but he thinks it incumbent upon him to say something in reply to the objections which have been made to his proposition, because he apprehends that a very different conclusion may be fairly drawn from the arguments which have been urged against it. His own inclination will induce him to confine himself within the same bounds of candour and moderation, which the gentlemen who differ from him in opinion, have so properly chosen, and which ought to be invariably adhered to, where the end sought by all is the public good, and the only disagreement is on the mode of attaining it.

The President has already declared, that he meant, by the appointment of Rajah Goordass, that this government should avail itself of the abilities and influence of Rajah Nundcomar, for the purposes assigned, but it was his declared intention

tion to exclude him from any formal trust in the Nabob's service, in order to guard against any attempts which might be apprehended from his intrigues; thus leaving the government at liberty to recall him, whenever he shall be suspected of applying the opportunities afforded him to ill purposes, without giving umbrage to the Nabob, or leaving him a pretence to screen him from our authority.

The President does not take upon him to vindicate the moral character of Nundcomar: his sentiments of this man's former political conduct, are not unknown to the Court of Directors, who, he is persuaded, will be more inclined to attribute his present countenance of him to motives of zeal and fidelity to the service, in repugnance, perhaps, to his own inclination, than to any predilection in his favour. He is very well acquainted with most of the facts alluded to in the minute of the Majority, having been a principal instrument in detecting them; nevertheless, he thinks it but justice to make a distinction between the violation of a trust, and an offence committed against our government, by a man who owed it no allegiance, nor was indebted to it for protection, but, on the contrary, was the actual servant and minister of a master, whose interest naturally suggested that kind of policy, which sought by foreign aids, and the diminution of the power of the Company, to raise his own consequence, and to re-establish his authority. He has
never

never been charged with any instance of infidelity to the Nabob Meer Jassier, the constant tenor of whose politics, from his first accession to the Nizamut, till his death, corresponded in all points, so exactly with the artifices which were detected in his minister, that they may be as fairly ascribed to the one as to the other. Their immediate object was beyond question, the aggrandizement of the former, though the latter had ultimately an equal interest in their success. The opinion which the Nabob himself, entertained of the services and of the fidelity of Nundcomar, evidently appeared in the distinguished marks which he continued to shew him of his favour and confidence, to the latest hour of his life.

His conduct in the succeeding administration, appears not only to have been dictated by the same principles, but, if we may be allowed to speak favourably of any measures which opposed the views of our own government, and aimed at the support of an adverse interest, surely it was not only not culpable, but even praise-worthy. He endeavoured, as appears by the extracts before us, to give consequence to his master, and to pave the way to his independence, by obtaining a firman from the King, for his appointment to the Subahship; and he opposed the promotion of Mahomed Reza Cawn, because he looked upon it has a supersession of the rights and authority of the Nabob. He is now

now an absolute dependent and subject of the Company, on whose favour he must rest all his hopes of future advancement.

But whatever may have been the conduct of Rajah Nundcomar in a different station, and on former occasions, the President cannot form an idea of any danger, to which the Company's interests can be exposed, by his influence with his son in the office which is now proposed for the latter. No situation of our affairs could enable the Nabob, or any person connected with him, to avail himself, by any immediate or sudden act, of the slender means which he has left, to infringe our power, or enlarge his own. He has neither a military force, authority in the country, foreign connexions, nor a treasury. A design of such a nature, if ever practicable, can only take effect by a long train of concerted events, and must be the uninterrupted work of years: but as it has been repeatedly remarked, the father having no trust or authority, nor the son abilities equal to so great an enterprise, the slightest suspicion will be sufficient to remove the former, and frustrate every hope of the kind for ever.

With respect to any other person who may be nominated for this charge, the President declares, that he has fixed his choice upon Rajah Goordass, from the thorough conviction, that no other will be

SECOND LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE.

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

ON THE

Subject of the EVIDENCE referred to in
the SECOND REPORT of the SELECT
COMMITTEE of the HOUSE of COM-
MONS, appointed to enquire into the
State of Justice in the Provinces of
BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA.

WITH A

Compleat Refutation of every Paragraph of the LETTER
of MR. PHILIP FRANCIS, to the COURT of DI-
RECTORS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, copied
from No. 7, of the Appendix to the said Report.

L O N D O N

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXVII.

REFPRINTED M,DCC,LXXXIII

A

SECOND LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

SIR,

SINCE the publication of my Letter to you, on the subject of the execution of Rajah Nundcomar, I have been asked in what part of the former report of the Committee, it appeared as evidence, that it was by many persons at Bengal, believed that the Rajah lost his life on political principles, for that it was not to be found in page 59 of the former report, as referred to in my quotation from the latter.

B

THIS

This information set me to examine the first report, and I find that the only parts in it where this circumstance is mentioned, is in page-57 and page 58, as printed by J. Evans, No. 32, Paternoster-Row.

This re-examination of the fact, and of the authority, hath opened a new scene of investigation, the developing of which, will shew very plainly on what slight grounds, and for what particular purpose the insinuations, have been taken up, and brought forward in the last report.

I HAVE been told, and otherways informed, that my eagerness to vindicate the Governor General of Bengal, together with the warmth of my temper, had hurried me into some personalities, which had obscured my agreement, and weakened it very much.

This remark, having its foundation in truth, has hurt me a good deal; not on account of the men themselves, but that a good cause should be injured by an injudicious advocate. But as I have yet abundant materials unapplied, I once more take the liberty to address you on the subject. By keeping to facts and argument, and leaving men to their own feelings, I hope to reclaim all the moderate to my side of the question.

THE present report refers to the last for the evidence, which the Committee desires may be applied to, in justification of their new doctrine of policy. To that let us go, and fairly state the grounds they have gone upon, to the application of which I have so strongly objected.

THE causes of the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Rajah Nundcomar, being part of the duty of the Committee, it appears that seven different gentlemen were called before them to be examined on that head: the two first were Members of the Committee, Messrs. Rouse and Farrer. Mr. Mills and Mr. Price, two very old Free Merchants, who had resided many years in Bengal. Mr. Baber, a Company's servant, and one of the provincial Revenue Chiefs; Major James Rennell, the Company's Surveyor General; and Captain Cowe, a military officer in the Company's army.

THE first six give their evidence clear and distinct, all agreeing in the same points, that the Rajah's suffering so ignominious a death, surprised the people much, as it was contrary to their ideas of justice, that a man of his rank and high cast of religion, should suffer capitally for what they deemed a venal offence. Not one single word is said about political influence, by any one of the first six gentlemen; nor does it appear that Captain Cowe had such an idea in his head, until it had been

introduced there by the novel and singular question, put to him by some one Member of the Committee.

THE fair way is to give his evidence at length, and to reason on the singularity of it afterwards.

I HAVE taken it from J. Evans's publication, page 57 and 58 ; it is as follows :

" CAPTAIN Cowe being again examined by
 " your Committee, was asked whether he was at
 " Calcutta, at the time of the proceedings against
 " Nundcomar, and at the time of his execution?
 " said, he was, during the whole of the time.
 " Being asked, if any criminal prosecution had
 " been commenced against him, before that in-
 " dictment, for forgery ? he said, none that he
 " had heard of. Being asked, what was the op-
 " nion of the natives concerning that proceeding,
 " whether they thought it political, or done in the
 " ordinary course of justice ? said, he believed,
 " there was a great diversity of opinions ; that
 " many thought it was done from political mo-
 " tives ; others, in the ordinary course of justice,
 " according to the laws of England. Being asked,
 " what was the character of the Rajah Nundcomar
 " among the natives ? said, that he was considered
 " as a man of understanding, but much addicted

" to

" to litigation, and, in general, thought a design? " ing, artful man ; that he never heard any thing " farther against his moral character. Being ask- " ed, whether his prosecution did not give gene- " ral satisfaction to the natives, as being the means " of bringing to justice, a criminal, who had been " a long time protected from it by his power and " artifices ? said, he never heard that it had given " satisfaction, except to a few, who might have " viewed it in a political light. Being asked, " whether he had not heard, that the offence for " which Nundcomar was tried, was committed se- " veral years before the trial ? he said, he always un- " derstood it had been committed for many years " before the trial. Being asked, if he had an op- " portunity to make any observations concerning " the execution of Nundcomar ? said, he had ; " that he saw the whole, except the immediate act " of execution. From the parapet of the new fort, " not quite half a mile from the place of execution, " there were eight or ten thousand people assem- " bled ; who, at the moment the Rajah was turned " off, dispersed suddenly, crying ' Ah-baup-aree ! ' " leaving nobody about the gallows but the sheriff " and his attendants, and a few European spectators. " He explains the term of Ah-baup-aree, to be an " exclamation of the black people, upon the ap- " pearance of any thing very alarming, and when " they are in great pain : that they did not think " he would be put to death till he was actually
 " executed.

"executed. That many of them even ran into
 "the river, from the terror at seeing a Bramin exe-
 "cuted in that ignominious manner. That the
 "circumstance of his execution was received with
 "great horror by all the natives, as well as most
 "of the Europeans, who, in general, thought it a
 "hard case. Being asked, if the natives, in ge-
 "neral, were not satisfied with the introduction
 "of the rigour of the English penal statute law,
 "as tending to secure credit and fidelity in deal-
 "ings? said, as far as he ever understood, quite
 "the reverse. Then being asked, whether the
 "equity and impartiality of the Supreme Court,
 "in that business, did not strike forcibly upon
 "the minds of the natives, and impress them
 "with a strong idea of the wisdom and justice of
 "the English laws, and a desire of having them
 "extended for the general benefit? he informed
 "your Committee, that it rather impressed them
 "with an unsavourable idea of our justice and
 "equity; and that he never heard they, by any
 "means, wished to have them extended. Being
 "asked, if the natives knew for what purpose the
 "Supreme Court had been established? he said,
 "he believed, at first, they did not properly un-
 "derstand it, but that, by this time, they are per-
 "fectly acquainted with the nature of its institu-
 "tion. Being asked, if it was not generally given
 "out, that this court was instituted for their pro-
 "tection and their defence, against the abuses of
 "European

" European authority ? he said, it was ; that he
 " remembered hearing Mr. Le Maitre, one of
 " the Judges from the Bench, express his sur-
 " prise, that so many people applied for redress to
 " the country courts, when they might depend on
 " as good justice or better, in the Supreme Court
 " of Judicature ; and that these were his very
 " words. Being asked, if the natives considered
 " the proceedings against Nundcomar, and his
 " execution, as answering the ends of the insti-
 " tution of the court, in the protection of the
 " natives ? he said, he did not believe they did.
 " Being asked, whether they did not consider the
 " execution, as having a tendency to encourage
 " them to prefer complaints against Europeans in
 " authority ? he said, he believed not. Being
 " asked, whether an address to the Judges was
 " not signed by several of the natives, commend-
 " ing their conduct in the office, and particularly
 " dwelling upon the character of mercy ? he said,
 " that he has seen an address from the Armenian
 " merchants, printed, which, he believes, was
 " given to the Judges. Being asked, whether that
 " address contradicted the sentiments of the na-
 " tives, which he had just now mentioned ? he
 " said, it did. Then being asked, whether he
 " looked upon that address, or the conversation
 " he had heard, as most truly expressive of the
 " genuine sense of the natives ? he said, he be-
 " lieved the conversation he had heard to be the
 " most

" most expressive; and that the address does by
 " no means express their sense. Being asked, if
 " he recollects any instance of mercy, to which
 " that address alluded? he said, none; except the
 " release of the felons, and several who had been
 " under sentence of death, in the prison at Cal-
 " cutta, for capital offences. Then being asked,
 " if any particular circumstances of hardship had
 " been represented to the Judges? he said, he did
 " not know that there had, before the arrival of
 " the Judges. And being asked, whether an op-
 " nion had prevailed, that the construction or ex-
 " cution of criminal law, had been severe and im-
 " moderate? he said, he never had heard any such
 " opinion."

. . . MESSRS. Rouse, Farrer, Mills, Price, and Ren-
 nell, had been examined before Captain Cowe,
 and Mr. Baber was examined after him; not one
 of the other gentlemen mentioned a syllable of po-
 licy, or hinted that such an idea had ever been
 conceived. Captain Cowe was going on, in the
 same line, when he was asked by some one of the
 Gentlemen of the Committee, " What was the
 " opinion of the natives concerning that proceed-
 " ing, whether they thought it political, or done
 " in the ordinary course of justice? "

I HAVE read the whole report over and over, to
 find out, if it was possible, what could give cause
 for

for such a question ; no such had been put to any one of the preceding five evidence, nor to the one which followed ; and candour obliges me to conclude, that it was not the effect of design, but mere matter of accident. The answer goes to declare what was very true, that party divisions in the settlement, had begot different opinions in the inhabitants ; but not the least inference can be drawn from Captain Cowe's evidence, that this supposed political interposition, applied to any particular description of men, either to the Judges, the Majority of the Civil Government, or to the Minority.

THE exclamation *Au baup-aree!* and the saying the people run into the river, on the Rajah's being turned off, conveys improper notions to the mind of the reader, and in candour, they ought to have been explained : why the Gentlemen of the Committee, who understand the Hindoo manners and customs, did not do it, I will not trust myself to say, for fear I should again touch sore places, but the fact is as follows : had a calf been knocked on the head they would have done the same. The exclamation cannot be rendered into English, the idioms of the languages are so very different ; but if an Hindoo was to see a house on fire, to receive a smart slap on the face, break a China basin, cut his finger, see two Europeans

ropeans boxing, or a sparrow shot, he would call out *Au baup aree!*

WHEN the Rajah was hanged, it was to them a very extraordinary sight, and it was natural for Hindoos to suppose, that it in some degree defiled them. The remedy was at hand, near to the gallows where the Rajah suffered, runs a branch of the river Ganges, the waters of which river, in the ideas of all the Hindoo nations, cleanse them from every kind of impurity. Had a common pickpocket suffered, had an European spit, by accident, on the outer edge of their outer garment, had they touched any dead animal, or fifty thousand other, the most trifling causes, would have induced them to go and purify themselves in the Ganges. At all hours of the day and night, at all seasons of the year, thousands of them are seen, men, women, and children, mingled together, indiscriminately dabbling in the river to purge away the impurities of body, soul, and garment, at the same instant, and by the same means.

WITH such an explanation as this I have given, (and I have with me, the unanimous opinions of all the authors who have written on, and of every man in this kingdom, who knows the least of, the manners and customs of the Hindoos,) how ridiculous does the above dismal story

story of Captain Cowe's appear! and how shall we account for five or six Members of the Committee, giving up such cock and bull accounts, to terrify our women and children? It can do no more; for surely no man, of the least intelligence, can suppose the people run into the river, from terror and dismay; not they, truly. Hanging a Bramin was a novelty, to be sure; but if five hundred such rascally Bramins as Maha Rajah Nundcomar, had suffered the same death, not a Hindoo among them would have gone without his dinner on the occasion.

THEY are by no means a sanguinary set of people; their religion teaches them not to take away the life of a fly wantonly, nor will they do it; this, in many instances, they carry to what we should call a ridiculous extreme. Yet these people have laws among them, which would shock the most hardened Europeans. They impale alive wretches who have twice been detected in robbing in boats on the river, they scourge to death for theft; and they mutilate, by cutting of the hand, the ears, or the nose, for house-breaking, or robberies on the road. Nothing can be so erroneous, or liable to mislead the judgment so much, as comparing some few particular laws and customs of one country, with a few of those of another. The Hindoos would no more change their own code, such as it is, with Englishmen, than Englishmen

men would change with them: their's suit best with their climate, is interwoven with their religion, and they have been possessed of it ages before the people of this kingdom knew whether they dwelt on an island, or on the continent.

But to return to our subject; this single evidence of Captain Cowe, grew out of the oddity of the question, without which it never would have entered his head, to have amused the Committee with such an idle tale of whimsical political interference; nor do I believe that it was more thought of by any one Member of the Committee; otherwise, when the Bengal Judicial Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, how came it pass without any mention having been made, or even a hint started, that it would be improper to leave in possession of the civil and judicial powers at Calcutta, monsters, who had been guilty of such an infamous conspiracy? All the public evidence, that has been yet produced, was known then. if there is private information, it ought not to be held back from the public eye; if it is held back, and either the Judges, or Governor General Hastings, suffer in the mind of one single fellow subject, male or female, from the insinuations held up in the report of the Committee, it is a mode of punishment, unknown to the laws of the land, and not to be justified on any principles, but such as are adopted at the inquisition, and

and no man can say whose turn it shall come to next, to have his honour arraigned. There is another Committee who deal more candidly: facts are produced, and the supposed culprit is candidly informed, that attempts will openly and fairly be made to fix criminality upon him, but that every assistance will be given him to defend himself, and no advantage taken of popular clamour to prejudice his cause. Had I a brother in such a situation, sharp as the fraternal feelings might pierce my soul, I should bow to the ground, in reverence to the justice of my country; I would sooth him in his misfortunes, as the angel of the Lord did our first parent, and comfort him in the same words as our immortal poet uses, in a similar situation, to that first child of human misery; " Go thy ways in peace, the world is all before thee, where to choose a place of rest, and Providence thy guide."

'THE singularity of the case before me, and the uncommon hardships the supposed criminals will suffer, if any further steps shall be taken to urge the vengeance of the House against them, not only unheard in their own defence, but even uninformed of the charge, induces me to endeavour to draw the attention of the House of Commons and the public, to this extraordinary attempt of the Committee.

BETWEEN the return of the first report, on which the Legislature had acted, and the introduction of the second, in which the curious insinuations are presented for the consideration of the public, Mr. Philip Francis arrived, who, finding that the Directors of the East India Company, treated him as he most certainly deserved, not only for penning his insolent Letter to them at his leaving Bengal, but also for his sending it to be published in all the Daily Papers, full of spleen and malice, he applies to the Committee sitting at Westminster, to countenance his abominable falsehoods. Had I been Chairman of that Committee, most certainly I would at least have been neuter in that whole business. It rested with him not to engage the passions of the awful Senator, in the paltry politics of the East India Proprietor. When the devil shews his cloven foot, in vain does he attempt to lead us into vice, with the syren's song or angel's face. Let the General harangue to all eternity, not one man will he convince that he is actuated by virtue, or from public good, in the present business: whether you, Sir, are subject to the same conclusion, I shall leave others to determine; but I hesitate not one moment to declare; that to this cause, and to this cause alone, we owe the reference back to the former report, for one solitary piece of evidence, (extracted, not given) in justification of the opinion implied of these having been more of policy than of justice, in the condemnation

condemnation and execution of Rajah Nund-comat.

11

I HAVE said a great deal in my former Letter to you, Sir, on the *crooked politics*, and unfounded assertions of this genuine Knight of the Post, and in some degree I stood pledged to disect his Letter, No. 7, of your appendix. Indeed I have such a fertile field before me, of instances of this gentleman's want of candour, and disregard of truth, that I am at a loss from what part of his literary productions to cull my examples.

With your permission, and in order to keep in view a former assertion of mine, viz. that he entered and left Bengal in the same gloomy habit of soul, predicting the sudden and absolute ruin of that Kingdom, I will present you with two instances only, from the first Letter of the Majority to the Court of Directors.

" 37th paragraph of a Letter from the Majority at Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated the 3d of December, 1774, about six weeks after the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, at Calcutta.

" On this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings, " we shall only for the present observe in general, " that under any tolerable form of government, " the

" the effects of the famine must long since have
 " ceased to be felt in a country, where nature asks
 " nothing of the governing power, but not to
 " study to resist and defeat her operations. The
 " world will soon see that it is oppression of the
 " most violent and pernicious nature, which has
 " has reduced this fertile country to a state of de-
 " population."

I DEFY even you, Sir, who I believe to have
 read every thing that has ever been written on
 government and politics, to produce, collected
 together in so few words, arguments so foreign to
 experience, to human reason, and to truth; and
 introduced for no other purpose, than to lead the
 mind off from a fact, which nobody can deny, to
 daring assertions, which nobody will believe.

THE severity of the famine was felt in the sum-
 mer of the year 1770, it swept away a full fourth
 of the labouring people of the provinces of Ben-
 gal. The Letter from which the above paragraph
 has been taken, was written in the beginning of
 December, 1774, a little more than four years af-
 terwards. Mr. Hastings's argument led to prove,
 that one cause of the collections falling short, was
 the vast number of the cultivators of lands (from
 the crops of which the revenues arise) having been
 swept away by the famine. If it should please
 God, in order to punish us for our manifold sins,

to visit this kingdom, with so dreadful a calamity, as in one summer, to carry off one quarter part of the working people of this country, and the revenues fall short in consequence. Would you, Sir, dare to insult the understanding, and play upon the feelings of the House, by assuring them, that the present evils did not arise from the famine, but entirely from the mismanagement of the former administration ?

If, as they affirm, the government of Bengal, had a tendency to the depopulation of this country, how has it come about, that the famine and government together, hath not yet quite extirpated the people, and destroyed the revenues? Mr. Hastings had been but a little more than two years in the government of Bengal, when the Majority arrived. Supposing him to have been the whole time employed, as they would have us to believe, in devising the means to finish what the famine had begun, two years before he came from Madras, and laid waste the whole kingdom; if they establish this fact, will it not bear hard on several others of theirs, which may be found on the Company's books, from November 1775, to September 1776, when the evils returned with redoubled violence, by the power reverting into the hands of the Governor General, by the death of Colonel Monson?

IN the short space of time which elapsed from the failing of the last ships in April, 1775 (when they rested their cause on the strength of the accusations, (how collected, I have shewn) and sent home, as being quite sufficient to bring about the recall of Mr. Hastings) to the death of Colonel Monson, their Letters to their honourable Masters, the East India Company, and to the Ministry, took a different turn. They had, by their presence, restored health, peace, and plenty, to the country, and liberty to the very few inhabitants they found. "The steady power which had been employed to resist and defeat Nature's operations," they had effectually removed, and people sprung up together with rice in the fields, spontaneously. These poor young naked natives they cloathed, the hungry were fed, and the golden age had returned so suddenly, that every body was lost in rapture and joyous amazement; and all this had been brought about by their having found in themselves, those men, "by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a state can be recovered. Common men are not equal to the occasion."

UNHAPPY Bengal! what pity, that these angelic beings were not of the nature of Swift's Struld-bugs, but that on one of them dying, every thing should in the instant fall back into its former ruin and desolation. In short, if you be-

lieve your friend, Mr. Francis, chaos was come again.

I FEEL very unhappy that I cannot amuse myself in his golden regions, his short-lived elysium, to converse a little with his beings of a season, which sprung up with his power, and could not be held back from sinking again into nothing, on the demise of Colonel Monson: it requires a pen like your own, Sir, to furnish a proper epitaph on the occasion.

No one circumstance of the conduct of Mr. Hastings in his preceding administration, was left untouched; all was pointedly condemned and execrated, in select and chosen words and phrases; in this mine Mr. Francis toiled incessantly, as I shall abundantly shew. Major Scott, having trod the ground before, has disposed of the treaty of Benares, Rohello war, King's tribute, and several other subjects; but the mine is inexhaustible, and would furnish endless materials to prove, that the Majority never once expected, that their representations would be controverted, or their assertions disputed, but depended entirely on the prejudices of the nation, and the influence of the Ministry, to bring about the recall of the Governor General. The following paragraphs have been extracted from one of the first Letters of the Majority to the Court of Directors.

PARAGRAPH 70. " The Letters received by
 " General Clavering from several of the Com-
 " pany's military officers entrusted with separate
 " commands, will be found deserving of notice.
 " They contain accounts of the military expedi-
 " tions and hostilities, carried on against a number
 " of Rajahs and Zemindars, without any authority
 " from the present government, or any direct
 " communication to us of the plan of execution
 " of them. Most of these measures appear to
 " have been directed by the provincial Chiefs of
 " Patna and Burdwan, some time after our arrival
 " here. In some places, the Rajahs are reduced
 " to obedience, and give hostages: in many
 " others, the villages are burnt, and the corn cut
 " down and destroyed. Ensign Scott, having re-
 " ceived orders from the Chief of Patna, to seize
 " or expel Rajah Tuttah Shaw, pursues him into
 " Sujah ul Dowlah's dominions, and makes three of
 " the Vizier's subjects prisoners of war. Captain
 " Crawford, by order of the Chief of Burdwan,
 " entered Patcoom on the 5th of last month, with
 " six companies of Seapoys, took the capital, le-
 " velled the town, and cleared the country, in or-
 " der to make the post tenable. On the 9th, he
 " attacks and drives the natives before him, af-
 " ter which, *the whole country fled into the moun-
 " tains.* He says, he is endeavouring to sow dis-
 " fention among their Chiefs, so as to induce them

" to

" to submit, or enable him with ease to rout
" them out.

PARAGRAPH 71. " We do not pretend to de-
" termine at present, whether measures of this na-
" ture be necessary or not; but we think it very
" extraordinary, that military expeditions of such
" importance, and leading to such consequences,
" should be undertaken, not only without the or-
" ders, but without the knowledge of this Board.
" We are sorry to be obliged to conclude this ar-
" ticle with declaring, that as far as we are able
" to judge, the general principle which seems to
" have animated this government, as well with re-
" spect to the natives of the provinces, as to the
" neighbouring states, has had too ~~near~~ a rela-
" tion to the expressive words so often made use
" of *extirpate, exterminate, root out, and annihilate.*

(Signed)

" J. CLAVERING.

" GEO. MONSON.

" P. FRANCIS."

WHAT uncandid misrepresentations have we
here of necessary political measures, unavoidable
in their nature, except we sit tamely down, whilst
a race of lawless savage Barbarians, lay waste and
depopulate our most fertile plains.

THOUGH

Though Clavering was violent, and Monson sarcastic, they were accomplished soldiers, and, I hope, strangers to the above detestable chicanery ; though the language and sentiments suit Francis exactly.

MANY parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, are bounded by thick woods and hills, rising one above another to a moderate height. Several of the vallies behind the woods, and between the mountains, are inhabited by different tribes of unsocial beings, not many degrees removed from the savage life. These banditti had, under all governments, in all periods of known time, infested and laid waste the fertile cultivated plains of the above-mentioned provinces, now possessed by the East India Company. Various plans had been formed, and many experiments tried, to reduce these people to order, and to cover the farmers in the adjacent plains, from their mischievous devastations, which continually destroyed the inhabitants, and impeded the collections of the revenue. By degrees, a chain of military posts had been formed on the confines of our territories, which connected with, and supported one another. The officers commanding these posts, were, in general, put under the directions of the civil servants, superintending the collections in the district on which the post depended; others commanded partisan corps, stationed in the hills,

hills, and acted under the immediate orders of the Presidency. Many of these commands were so distant from Calcutta, that it was indispensably necessary for the Board to give general instructions, and confide a great deal in the discretionary conduct of the different collecting residents, and commanding officers. The powers of the former were not unsimilar to those anciently given to the Lords of the Marches in England, to repel by force of arms, the sudden incursions of a fierce, valiant, northern people; and the latter had such kind of orders as our modern commanders receive, when entrusted by government with an expedition against a neighbouring state.

ALL that was intended, was the preservation of the lives and properties of the Company's farmers, or (if you like it better) the King's subjects. If this could be effected by moderate means and fair treaties, with the Rajahs, Zemindars, and other Chiefs of the Hill-people (as those motley tribes of independent free-booters are commonly called) it was so to be effected; if not, then they were to proceed by force, to drive them further from our boundaries; or, if necessary, to subject them entirely to our government. Look round the world; search into every page of ancient and modern history, and inform the public, how a new sovereignty, lately acquired by conquest, part of a vast continent, and in a similar situation with the provinces

provinces of Bengal and Bahar, are by other means to be defended and maintained. .

BUT there were orders of the East India Company's, which positively forbade a further extention of their dominions on that side of India; and it was for the purpose of the Majority, that the necessary and unavoidable measures which had been taken, in order to form a strong barrier for the safety of those dominions, should be represented in Europe as a breach of those orders, and an avaricious ambition in the late Administration, to obtain new provinces for the Company, by the force of their arms. With what candour, and on what foundation, orders, issued to obtain the very purposes intended by the Company, have been perverted by the Majority, in order to criminate the conduct of the Governor General, has already been shewn,

Such were the men the late Ministry provided to correct abuses, and give to the government of this deluded kingdom, candid information of the real state of the Company's affairs in Asia; and I am much mistaken, if the Lord Advocate, in his late much studied harangue, has not let *pussy* peep a little too plainly out of the bag, by giving the House to understand, what the intentions of the last Ministers were, with respect to India affairs, the sending out of another ship load or two of locusts, under

der the denomination of supervisors, to devour the remaining wine and oil of that unhappy country, Bengal. I will hope that we have escaped that great evil, and that no more duplicates of coercive measures, or Boston port bills, are to be sent as padlocks on the Ganges, but that the time is arrived, when not only the nation, but even the East India Company, are emancipated from their servile and dependent situation, on a venal court faction.

An honourable Baronet complimented the able Advocate on his acquiring such extensive knowledge in Asiatic affairs in so short a time. Had he forgot that the man comes from the Northward, and was bred a Lawyer? What has he collected but words? I will venture to wager with the honourable Baronet, that if he will but send him, or any other famous man of the profession, half a peck of pagodas, they will collect much better words, and more of them in his defence. His lordship strews a few laurels on the grave of that wonderful man, Lord Clive, (on whose vast abilities I never think, but with admiration), but I remember other orators of the same profession, straining all their powers to blacken the character, and tarnish the lustre of that great hero's virtues. Is the nation never to allow a little honest praise to living worthies? Must no good man taste of fame in the vale of peace? Shall such an incendiary as I have, and shall prove, Mr. Francisco be,

be, have his works made part of the national records ; and in the same volume, a stain be thrown on the spotless character of Governor General Hastings ? If, forgetting the injuries done by the dead, and applauding those now forging by the living, is the high road to interest in this world, and heaven in the next, I fear, I shall stay where I am until the curtain drops, and then sink into the opposite place to heaven ; for I feel no symptoms of repentance working on my mind ; and people advanced in life, do not grow less obstinate by living longer.

Now, Sir, for a fair investigation into the merits of Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors : their neglect of which, your Committee seems so extremely displeased with. I grudge such a document the paper it has already wasted, and is about to waste ; but this man must be put totally to silence, and the labourers which keeps about Debrett's shop, dismissed to seek their bread by some more worthy employment, than alarming the nation with fictitious accounts of things which never existed. Abler workmen have taken the matter up in a much more honourable place, or I should never by such grubs as those, have been roused from my compleat contempt for them and their master.

I HAVE, Sir, caused the whole Letter, as it stands in the appendix, No. 7, to your report, to be copied in separate paragraphs, and under each paragraph you will find my remarks and observations; this I thought better than being obliged constantly to refer the reader back to the Letter itself. No man knows, Sir, better than you do, how necessary perspicuity is to the fully understanding what a writer means.

FIRST COMMITTEE,

Second Report.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

(C O P Y.)

Mr. FRANCIS's Letter to the COURT of
DIRECTORS.

Gentlemen,

FOR your convenience, as well as to assist my own memory, I have thrown together, in the paper which I have now the honour to deliver you, short memorandums of the principal points on which I wish, and propose, to give you all the information in my power. Some things will require explanation, others may have been omitted, which I may recollect hereafter. I am ready, and shall be so at all times, to answer any questions you may think fit to put to me, and I hope that if any thing farther should occur to me, which may escape

“ escape my attention, you will allow me to communicate it to you in writing, whether as a correction of any of the contents of this paper, or in addition to them.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient and

East India House,

“ humble Servant,

19th Nov. 1781.

“ P. FRANCIS.”

R E M A R K.

KNOWING the desponding spirit and aptitude at fiction, to which Mr. Francis was so excessively prone, I cannot blame the Court of Directors for being content to hold no farther converse or connection with the man.

“ Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

“ East India House, 19th November, 1781.

PAR. I. “ When I had the honour of addressing the Court of Directors from St. Helena, it was not known to me, that one of the subjects on which I proposed to give them information, would be brought so directly and explicitly into their view, as I find it has been, by Mr. Hastings's

Hastings's Letter to them, of the 2d of December, 1780; as he therein expressly tells you, " That they shall be under the necessity of making a large reduction, and possibly a total suspension of your investment for the ensuing year; and that he cannot pronounce what their ability may be, beyond that period." I have nothing to offer on that head, but that I am thoroughly convinced, that the necessity to which Mr. Hastings alludes, will continue to operate, if not increase in its force, and in all its effects; and that no man, who knows any thing of the real state of India, can, even by conjecture, point out a period at which such necessity will cease to be felt. Peace at present, is not within sight; and, whenever there shall be a peace, I can venture to assure you, that the comparative state of your expences and resources in India, as they will then stand, will not exhibit a surplus applicable to the purchase of an investment. It is my most serious opinion, that you will never again have an investment purchased with the savings from the revenues at Bengal. I hear you have lately authorized the Governor and Council, to draw upon you for 500,000l. to be applied strictly to this object: you know, better, than I do, how long the Company can support such a demand upon their resources in England. As long as it can be supported, you will consult the welfare of Bengal, at least, in laying this burden on the Company.

Company. If there be no investment purchased
 in one year, the landed revenue of the country
 will, in a little time, be found to fail nearly in
 the same proportion: one is, in effect, the
 supply of the other. Again, as there is properly
 no trade in Bengal, or next to none, but that
 which is created by the purchase of the Com-
 pany's investment, it follows, that, in whatever
 proportion such investment is diminished, the ma-
 nufacturers are so far forth left without employ-
 ment; the consequence of which must be, that
 they will either fly the country, or turn to some
 other occupation, and the manufactures be pro-
 portionably debased, if not irrecoverably lost.
 Reflections of this nature, I presume, must have
 occurred to you, when you authorized the Go-
 vernor and Council to draw upon you for so
 large a sum. Whether it will be in their power
 to apply the whole of it in the manner you ex-
 pect, I very much doubt: but as a collateral re-
 source, applicable to the same object, I submit to
 you to consider, whether the following idea
 might not be adopted with advantage, under
 such corrections and improvements as your own
 judgment may suggest. That all Europeans, and
 others, resident in Bengal, having money which
 they wish to remit to England, should be invited
 to subscribe it into the Treasury of the Board of
 Trade, to be applied to the purchase of piece
 goods, raw silk, &c. on condition that their bills

on the Company, at a favourable rate of exchange, (suppose, for example, 2s. 1d. the current rupee) shall be accepted and paid at a given period, after the arrival of the ships in England. This expedient, I believe, will produce twenty-five lacs a year, at least for a year or two; and, as far as it went, the extraction of specie from England and from Bengal, would be proportionably and equally saved. I submit this merely as a hint to your better judgment.'

R E M A R K.

MR. Hastings had some doubts that he should not be able to continue the full support of four different armies, belonging to the Company, then actually in the field, and looking, every man of them, to Bengal for support and subsistence; and at the same time continue to send annually home to the Company, an investment, amounting to 800,000, or 1,000,000l. sterling, as he had done for years past; besides supplying money and provisions to Bombay and Madras. So circumstanced, he thought it his duty to advise the Company at home of his apprehensions, that they might not load themselves with the expence of unnecessary tonnage, in order to carry home Bengal goods, which it might happen he could not spare money to provide. Was not this justifiable and

and fair ? has such a necessary piece of advice had any bad effects ? and has not his powerful and unwearyed invention of finding out resources, enabled him to go on with the investment ? and is it not now known, that there is at Bengal, and on its way home, more than a million and a half of Bengal goods, provided to enable the Company to make good the bills which necessity has obliged the different Presidencies to draw on the Company ?

IN the latter part of this first paragraph, Mr: Francis modestly offers a hint to the Court of Directors, which he would hope to obtrude on the world for his own. Is it possible that this man was unacquainted with all the different ways that this, his hint, has been given to the Company before ? So far back as to the years 1762 and 1763, I remember Mr. Gregory, now the Chairman of the Court of Directors, (whose honest name I would not presume to join with Mr: Francis's, were it not in the cause of truth,) often mentioned his apprehensions, that sending of so much money out of the country, that was acquired by individuals, and at the same time their supplying the foreign companies for bills, which prevented the farther importation of bullion, would in a few years impede the necessary circulation in the provinces, and hurt the revenues, wishing some means could be devised to receive private property

for notes on the Company.' A few years after, Governor Vereilt stated this matter fully and fairly to the Company, with his fears of the consequences, hinting at the same remedy. After that, a merchant of extensive experience, stated in the Free Merchants Letters the same evil, and proposed the same remedy. From this last, Master Francis (being very fond of the man) stole the hint, as he calls it; but he cannot even steal fairly. The author of the Free Merchants Letters proposes, that the Company shall receive the current rupee at the exchange of two shillings, and grant bills on Europe at a very long sight; and Mr. Francis well knows, that all the Europeans in Bengal, would very gladly pay in every sixpence they could get on such terms, with a view that they, or their friends, should receive it in Europe, with an interest of three per cent. even five years after paying of it into the Company's cash at Bengal. Had he offered this exchange, I should have said nothing; but his cunning (for it is all he has to serve him in place of wisdom) suggested, that though he himself had taken money out of the treasury for his wages, at two shillings the current rupee, yet that he never had paid in any at less than two shillings and one penny; and he thought that if he gave in his hint on terms less advantagous for others, than he had taken for himself, somebody would take notice of it. Thus do the wicked ever dig pits for others, and fall

fall into them themselves : for I dare him to deny, that he ever received money from the Company, at more than two shillings the current rupee, or took bills on them for less than two shillings and one penny.

1 1 1 1

PAR. 2. ' The second point, on which I meant to offer you some information, was the state of the administration of justice in Bengal ; but as I find that this subject has already been taken up by the legislature, and is likely to be resumed at the meeting of Parliament, I shall not enter further into it in this place. - One fact only it is fit you should be apprised of, because it directly concerns the Company's interest, and may require some immediate orders from you. It is, that whereas, in many acts and declarations of the Governor General and Council, and more particularly in their declaration made to the Supreme Court of Judicature, on the 11th of March, 1780, it was constantly avowed and maintained by them, that the Zemindars, and other Landholders of Bengal, were exclusively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor General and Council ; the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was, nevertheless, appointed in October, 1780, by a Majority of the Board, consisting of the Governor General and Sir Eyre Coote, against Mr. Wheler and me, to be Superintendent, or Judge, of the Dewanne Adawlets, and to decide, in the last resort, in all appeals from those

• courts ; that the Chief Justice had accepted the
 • office ; and that on the 24th of October, the
 • Governor General proposed an allowance of
 • 5,600 Sicca rupees a month for the Chief Justice,
 • which at that time was not voted.'

R E M A R K.

The subject of appointing the Chief Justice to the Superintendance of the Sudder Dewanne Adawlet, with a salary adequate to the fatigue of the duty, was proposed as a conciliatory measure, and referred home to the Company for their approbation. The reasons for the turn given to it in the Committee, have been explained in this and my former Letter. I shall only subjoin here, that though Mr. Hastings has been continued in the government ten years, so oddly have things fallen out, that no plan of his has had any time given it to prove by experience its utility. At Bengal, they are now acting under the sanction of Acts of Parliament of last session, little dreaming that all is going to be new-modelled. With such unsteadiness of government at the seat of empire, how can we expect tranquillity and ease at the extremes ; which, in point of distance by sea, must be considered, with respect to the mother country, as antipodal?

PAR. 3. ' These subjects being dismissed, I
 ' come to the great leading facts, which constitute
 ' the actual state of India, as far as I am acquainted
 ' with it : 1st. The dominions of your ally, or ra-
 ' ther your vassal, the Nabob of Oude, are utterly,
 ' and, I believe, irrecoverably, ruined. In the
 ' year 1776, the revenues of that country, and its
 ' dependencies, exceeded three hundred lacs of
 ' rupees. In April, 1780, they were so reduced,
 ' that, whereas the Company's demand on the
 ' Vizier for that year, as stated by Mr. Charles
 ' Purling, amounted to one hundred and twenty
 ' lacs, and, as stated by me, to one hundred
 ' and fifty lacs, no assignments could be had
 ' from the Vizier for more than ninety lacs, and
 ' he himself was reduced to the absolute want of
 ' a bare subsistence for himself and his family.
 ' You will find the particulars recorded in our con-
 ' sultation of the 3d of April, 1780. You cannot
 ' but be sensible how far the fact of itself extends,
 ' and to what consequences it leads. I mention it
 ' now for the following reason, out of many that
 ' are still more important. I find, that in the re-
 ' port of the Committee of Proprietors, dated the
 ' 19th of December, 1780, credit is taken (under
 ' the head of outstanding debts due to the Com-
 ' pany) for current rupees, 23,65,989, due by
 ' Asoph ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, with as much
 ' apparent confidence and security, as if you had
 ' the money in your treasury in Leadenhall-
 street.

' street. Now I do assure you, that this debt, so
 ' far from being discharged, is by this time immo-
 ' derately increased; and that it never can be dis-
 ' charged out of the revenues of Oude, which,
 ' when I left India, were far short of being equal
 ' to the indispensable establishments of that go-
 ' vernment, and which were still declining rapidly
 ' every day. 2d. I have good reason to believe,
 ' that your ally, the Rana of Gobub, as I find him
 ' entitled in the Governor General's Letter, is much
 ' dissatisfied with the presence of your troops,
 ' and with the effects it has produced in his coun-
 ' try: That Major Popham was so apprehensive
 ' of being betrayed by him to the Mahrattas, that
 ' he seldom or never ventured to communicate
 ' his plan of operations to him, and more particu-
 ' larly in the instance of his enterprize on Gwa-
 ' hor; and that no part of the subsidy, due by the
 ' treaty from the Rana, or only a very small pro-
 ' portion of it, had been discharged! The truth
 ' is, he is so inconsiderable, that I had hardly
 ' ever heard of his name, before the treaty of al-
 ' liance with him, and guarantee of his dominions,
 ' were proposed by the Governor General. 3d. With
 ' respect to the Rajah of Berar, you are already in
 ' possession of my opinion of his views and dis-
 ' position towards our government, and of the in-
 ' tent and consequence of his keeping an army
 ' stationed upon our frontier in Cuttack. In my
 ' Letter of the 29th of March last, I told you
 ' that

' that he had made a demand of money from us;
 ' for the payment of this army. I must now add
 ' it as a fact, which I have absolute reason to be-
 ' lieve true, though I am not able to prove it, that
 ' money, to the amount of three or four Lacks of
 ' rupees, was actually sent to the commandant
 ' of that army, and that a much larger sum was
 ' promised by the Governor General, without the
 ' advice, consent, or knowledge, of the Council.
 ' With respect to the detachment under the com-
 ' mand of Lieutenant Colonel Pearce, avowedly
 ' formed for the purpose of marching through
 ' Cuttack and the Northern Circars, towards the
 ' Carnatic, and of co operating with Sir Eyre
 ' Coote, I must inform you, that so long as the
 ' above Mahratta army remains upon the frontier,
 ' the detachment cannot move without leaving
 ' Bengal open to invasion; that, while the Mah-
 ' ratta keep the same, or any other situation up-
 ' on our frontier, they necessarily engage too
 ' much of our force and attention from other
 ' objects; which, without an actual rupture with
 ' us, produces many other effects of the most
 ' avowed hostility. I do not think the Governor
 ' General himself will deem it prudent to move
 ' Colonel Pearce's detachment southwards, until
 ' the danger, which may and ought to be appre-
 ' hended from the uncertain motions of the Ra-
 ' jah of Berar, shall be clearly and absolutely re-
 ' moved: he cannot do it, but in contradiction to

' my opinion, repeatedly given at the Board, and
 ' which ought to hold good as long as the state
 ' of facts is the same. He (never) can obtain the
 ' consent of Mr. Wheler, who, I know, is im-
 ' moveably fixed in this point: and finally, he
 ' cannot do it even with the approbation of Sir
 ' Eyre Coote, who, though very desirous of re-
 ' ceiving every possible support from Bengal, did
 ' nevertheless, freely admit, that the measure was
 ' not to be thought of, unless we were perfectly
 ' secure of the Mahratta army in Cuttack. You
 ' already know, that, in November, 1780, the
 ' bonded and other debts against your treasury in
 ' Bengal, exceeded eighty lacs of current rupees:
 ' You may depend upon it, that that burden will
 ' increase as long at least as the war continues, and
 ' as long as money can be borrowed on any terms.
 ' 4th. In the report of the Committee of Pro-
 ' prietors, I find the bonded debt of Bombay,
 ' stated at 35,11,955 Bombay rupees. The fact
 ' is, that, on the 30th of April, 1780, their
 ' bonded debt amounted to 50,89,213 Bombay
 ' rupees. Having no means to pay the interest
 ' of 9 per cent. on this debt, their practice is to
 ' convert the interest, at the end of every half
 ' year, into principal. Supposing this to be done,
 ' as I have no doubt it has been, the result will be,
 ' that, at the end of October, 1781, their bonded
 ' debt will amount to 58,07,634 Bombay rupees,
 ' admitting that the debt is not otherwise in-
 ' creased

creased by an additional loan. It is also a fact, that, by their own estimate, their expences from April 1780, to April 1781, would exceed their resources in the sum of 38,34,492 rupees, which of course, is a debt on the government, whether bonded or not. The whole Bombay debt, therefore, without reckoning any thing incurred since April last, must now stand at 96,42,126 Bombay rupees, and this I believe to be very much under the amount.

R E M A R K.

The foregoing paragraph runs up to so many counts, as the lawyers call it, that it will be no easy matter to separate them. This first is in the true stile of ruin and despondence, with which Mr. Francis has at all times exercised his pen.

To this I shall only observe, that Mr. Francis and his friends were in the government of Bengal, when the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah died, and pursued what measures they pleased, as to the mode of conducting the government of his country; for Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of the Majority, a very worthy and capable young man, was sent up as a dry nurse to the foolish fellow, and worse than beast, Asoph ul Dowlah, the Vizier's son and successor. Nothing was, or could

" sources in the Carnatic, from which a single pi-
" goja was to be expected "

R E M A R K.

THE statement of the debts, due on bond at the different settlements, I shall admit to be accurate, though brought forward by Mr Francis, and shall only observe, that the aggregate sum does not amount to what the Bengal bonded debt alone amounted to when Mr. Hastings came to the government of that country.

THE annual revenues of Bengal alone, amount to more than double the sum, and if we add that part of the revenue of Oude, which must, and always will, be applied to the payment of our army on the peace establishment, this bugbear of Mr. Francis will disappear insensibly in a year or two after the present troubles subside. The Company's bonds, like our national funds, rise or fall in their value, on a nearer or more distant prospect of a peace. I have known them formerly often above par in the market, nor is it ever, but with reluctance, that the bond holders at Bengal, bring them in for payment, and the government may always reduce the interest to five per cent. which is not equivalent to more than two per cent. in Europe.

PAR. 5. ' 6th. In Bengal, I am first to observe to you, that all the establishments in the civil departments, have been immoderately increased since Sir John Clavering's death; but these, however great in themselves, are not to be mentioned in comparison with the excess to which the military charges have been carried in the same period. In the 28th article of the instructions which General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and I, carried out with us, in the year 1774, the Company say, ' our military expences at Bengal, having increased to a degree which is become *insupportable* to us, we, in an especial manner, enjoin you to make strict enquiry into the causes of such increase, &c.' ' At that time, the military charge, which the Company called *insupportable*, as in truth it was, did not exceed eighty lacks of current rupees per annum. The estimate of the same establishment, for the year ending in April last, amounted to two hundred and fourteen lacks and an half; and this charge, I conclude, has increased in the current year: I am sure, it cannot have been diminished. I am unwilling to say any thing of the actual state of the army, in regard to its effective strength, compared with the establishment, its discipline, or the punctuality with which the native troops are paid, because it would be going out of my own department, and parly because I cannot give you lights on this subject, from my own direct knowledge

of the great potentates, and trim over, first to one; and then to the other, as interest may incline, or necessity compel. But of this Mr. Francis knows nothing; nor does he seem to know, that since the English have established themselves on that peninsula, a kind of balance of power hath imperceptibly formed itself, that will, in all human probability, on a general peace taking place, (which we may expect to hear of shortly,) be adjusted in such a manner, as to secure the tranquillity of that continent for many years to come.

30LY. Whenever Mr. Francis, urging his opinion, depends on his own positive assertions, he is for ever unlucky. The detachment under Colonel Pearce did move on, and arrived safe on the coast. He should be more cautious of committing Mr. Wheler, now he is no longer influenced by his petticious counsel: that gentleman is emancipated; and having had time to think for himself, joins the Governor General in all his plans for a peace; to obtain which honourably, 'you know, Sir, nations must shew a power to resist by war.

If, Mr. Hastings did, on his own private credit, raise three or four lacks of rupees, and with so small a sum purchase the neutrality of so powerful a branch of the Mahratta empire as the Rajah of Berar, and thereby enable Colonel Pearce to pass unmolested

unmolested through not only his dominions, but also through the dominions of the Subah of the Deccan, and join Sir Eyre Coote on the coast with such a noble reinforcement, what words are strong enough in which to speak the praise due to such a noble effort of disinterested patriotism ! A Prince nearly connected, by every tie natural and religious, to the first Mahratta power against whom we were in arms, and himself able to bring forty thousand horse into the field, has been bought off, by Mr. Francis's account, for thirty or forty thousand pounds. Cheap doings, these : I wish some of our European politicians could do such jobs so reasonably.

PAR. 4. " 5th..I cannot speak particularly of the bonded debt at Fort Saint George; but I have heard from good authority, that it amounted to the utmost they could borrow. One fact, however, is necessary to be brought into your immediate observation; that whereas the Committee of Proprietors, have taken credit in their report for out-standing debts and property at Fort St. George, convertable into cash, to the amount of 1,380,083L. that whole credit, or by far the greatest part of it, is ideal. Their expences are estimated by Sir Eyre Coote at above seven lacs of rupees a month, which he declares, " must all come from Bengal, as there were no real sources

knowledge of it: thus far, however, I think it my duty to say, that from my own observation, and from all the information I have been able to collect, I have too much reason to believe, that your army actually wants a strict inspection into its discipline, and a vigorous command over it; and that this is true, in a degree much beyond what you will be inclined to believe, or what I could make good. The thing, in its nature, is not capable of proof, in England. Your judgment, therefore, must be guided and determined by your opinion of the veracity and honour of those whom you consult.'

R E M A R K.

MR. Francis would certainly have done wisely in saying nothing about the army, even on his own principles, his extreme ignorance on the subject; but there are other more weighty reasons, which having slipped his memory, I shall take the liberty to recall them to it.

At what period did this want of order and discipline commence? Did it exist when General Clavering arrived in the country? if so, how came it to pass, that that gentleman, during his life, never saw the Bengal army? His military pride would not suffer him to let Colonel Monson have the command

command of it until he himself should get into the government. Was it of more consequence to the State and to the Company, that he should spend his time at Calcutta, endeavouring, by means shocking to think on, to drive Mr. Hastings out of the government? When have the Bengal army refused to do their duty? Are not their warlike exploits and military prowess, the theme of every man in Europe and in Asia? Has there been a time when they flunked back from the charge, or rather did not court the occasion, to be led up to the noses of thirty times their numbers, arranged in military array, hostile to the English banner? Where were the feelings of the *would be-patriot* General, when he suffered such a Thing as Mr. Francis to cast such a reflection on the Bengal army? Is this his mode of paying his court to a set of as brave officers as the world ever saw? But they have done with Mr. Francis, and I trust, will no more be in the way to be insulted by the General's insolence of manners: being secured from that, is all they have to ask; their real contempt for such associates will do the rest.

GENERAL Sir Eyre Coote was the immediate successor to General Clavering, appointed by the King and Company, to command the Asiatic troops in general, and the Bengal army in particular. Has that gallant officer made any complaint of the want of spirit, order, or discipline,

which he found in the Company's troops? Has he not, with a mere handful of them, chastised the Caesar of the East, or rather Parliamentary 'bug-bear,' Hyder Ally? But it is not in the nature of a certain order of men, to forgive a political sin. Sir Eyre voted against Mr. Francis in council; and that is a crime of such a dye, as no length of time will wash out. I hope the Bengal officers now in England, will signify their thanks to this Clerk of the War-office, for his opinion of them.

7th. ' In the report of the Committee of Proprietors, I am sorry to observe, among several other exceptionable articles, that credit is taken for outstanding debts, due to the Company in Bengal, to the amount of 77,22,548 current rupees; and that this sum makes part of the final balance of pounds sterling, supposed to be in favour of the Company, just as much as the money in your treasury, or the value of the goods in your warehouses in London. I beg leave to assure you, that these debts, or the greatest part of them, have stood for years on the Company's books, and are believed, in Bengal, to be desperate. I declare to you, I never heard of a debt of any consequence being recovered by the Company in India. If these debts were of a recoverable nature, it is to be presumed, that a considerable, or at least five, part of them, would have been recovered at a time

when the Governor General and Council, were
 trying every possible expedient to borrow money
 at an high interest but the fact, on the con-
 trary, from a comparison of the accounts in my
 possession, stands thus.

25th September, 1779, total debts	} 108,21,543
due to the Company, - - -	
31st October, 1780, ditto, - - -	110,74,218
Increase of debts due to the Company, in those thirteen months,	2,52,675

R E M A R K.

Of the outstanding debts, on the desperate situation of which Mr : Francis expresses himself so feelingly, it is no less curious to observe his ignorance, than to remark his malice : Outstanding debts, he says himself, are very seldom recovered in India, and gives an instance to prove, that they increase yearly. Is it possible, that this man can be ignorant, that, in the complicated character in which the Company stand of Lord Paramount, Farmers General, Collectors of the Revenue, Import and Export Merchants, the Military Store-keepers General, all which accountants pass their merean idle books, and must be productive of bad debts, is there any thing new in this? Are they not obliged every year, to write out to their

servants at their several settlements, to write off to profit and loss, such and such desperate debts? Had he been the least conversant in the Company's mercantile affairs, he could not have been ignorant of this fact; and that the servants abroad never do proceed to strike any head off their books, without express orders from home. And since they have been so deeply concerned in the politics of Asia, many millions have sunk that way, and more must be sunk every year; but the observation served to catch the eye of ignorance, and to give alarm, and that was all Mr. Francis meant: Candid disquisition, or honest explanation, he has always been a stranger to.

8th. Thus far, without descending to ministerial objects, I have confined myself to what I believe to be strictly the facts, in stating to you the general situation of your affairs. My opinion on some of them shall be laid before you, with the same freedom and sincerity.

I find, with concern, that a habit begins to prevail in this country, of sending out new corps of Europeans, for the service in India. In my judgment, and in that of all the officers of experience, with whom I have conversed in Bengal, you would find it a much less expensive and a much more effectual method of providing for that branch of your service, if you sent out recruits

' troops sufficient to complete the European regi-
 ' ments at the several Presidencies. The dividing
 ' those regiments into two battalions each, when
 ' the companies could not shew above twenty-
 ' three rank and file, was a most ill-advised mea-
 ' sure, and produced many bad effects, besides a
 ' very great increase of expence. When I left
 ' India, they wanted more than half their comple-
 ' ment. Your army in Bengal, if the establish-
 ' ment be kept complete, is sufficiently numerous,
 ' it does not want field officers, at least not many,
 ' nor captains, nor subalterns, in these ranks, I be-
 ' lieve, your army is as well supplied, as any service
 ' in that country can require but does it not
 ' want two or three general officers, men of ac-
 ' tivity, of experience, and of established reputa-
 ' tions? if possible, they should be in the prime
 ' of life, and as high in point of personal rank as
 ' can be found under *their* inspections, your esta-
 ' blishments will be kept complete, and your
 ' troops in general, acquire as much discipline and
 ' vigour, as an Indian army is capable of, or as the
 ' nature of that service is likely to demand.'

REMARK

Here we have him again in the field, con-
 fessedly out of his element. Have the officers
 trained up in the Company's service, shewn any
 want of ability, when they had, by rising gradu-
 ally

dually, come to the command of the army? Will he be content to abide by the event of every experiment which has yet been tried, and contrast General Clavering, General Monro, General Stuard, Colonel Lesley, and Colonel Egertdn, with Lord Clive, General Joe Smith, General Caillud, General Sir Robert Letcher, General Sir Robert Barker, and General Thomas Goddard? I drop the General of the Committee, for fear of hurting his modesty, not well knowing in which list he would like best to be placed.

I AM neither civilian nor soldier in the Company's service, but am extremely hurt at observing the temper with which the gentlemen, who fall under those descriptions of Company's servants, bear to be so grossly insulted, in the face of the nation, by such a botch, such a carbuncle, on the vitals of truth, as this quondam clerk of an office, whose soul has been shrivelled up like a winter pippin, and compressed, by the dirty employ of stopping sixpences, into the magnitude of a minikin pin's head

9th With respect to your connections or differences with the country powers, I have already told you in what estimation the English name and authority are universally held by those powers The re establishment of Peace in India, which, in effect, is no more than reverting to

to your own original principles, is now become indispensably necessary, not only to your prosperity, or to your safety, but, I say, to your existence. If the present wars are to be continued, you can no more support the consequences of success, than of defeat. No victory in India will ever again pay the expence of the army that gains it. I need not tell you, what effect another defeat might produce. The disaster which befel Colonel Bailie's detachment, was felt in the most distant parts of our provinces : another event of the same nature, would, as I apprehend, go near to drive all the Seapoys out of your service. Before the late unfortunate transactions on the two coasts, the reputation of your arms had supported your credit and influence throughout India. But that reputation has been wantonly hazarded and severely wounded ; and your credit and influence, have accordingly sunk along with it. Peace then, at all events, must be your object. On this point, I can give you other explanations, if they are desired ; if not, I shall content myself with saying, that the Indian powers have lost all confidence in the good faith and steadiness of the government of Bengal."

R. E. M. A. R. X.

We know, Mr. Francis, that you have, over and over again, told the Company, and the kingdom, at

at large, many most daring and fallacious stories, of the estimation in which the English name is held by the different powers of Asia ; and I wonder that, as you must have taken your account from some interested agent, it has not happened in one single instance, that the man's own interest should operate so as to instruct you in a little truth.

THE disaster which befel the little gallant body of men, under the command of that excellent officer, Colonel Baslie, was brought about by the (what shall I say) great generalship of one of those kind of officers, of which you want to add a few more to the Company's troops. The defeat of the Bombay army happened whilst another of those heroes commanded it, but, perhaps, more immediately by that absurd policy which put the Civilian's coat so improperly on the military shoulders of General Clavering, and sunk poor Camac from an excellent officer, into a field committee-man. When you say, that the country powers have lost all confidence in the good faith of the government of Bengal, you should, in justice, have told us, that such want of confidence was never known before you and your colleagues arrived at Bengal, and that it was removed as soon as it was known that you had left it. I instance that you have been so unlucky as to risk your whole credit upon the marching of Colonel Pearce's detachment

ment through the dominions of the Rajah of Berar; of whose hostile intentions towards the English, you have told such dismal stories; through the Subah of the Deccan's dominions, and the territories of his brother, with half a dozen other independent Rajahs and Zemindars, all of whom furnished him and his army on their march, with every thing their country produced; which circumstance gives the direct denial to your gloomy predictions of the inimical disposition of the country powers to the English: and the repeated successes of our arms, under Coote, Carnac, Goddard, Popham, and several others, are such examples of the recovery of the credit of our military character in Asia, that I wonder the news of it has not induced you to go hang yourself. This preservation of you, I suppose, we owe to the fostering [care] of the General of the Committee; who, rather than not try the experiment of revenging himself on those whom he deemed his enemies, would embark his small stock of credit in partnership with such an adventurer as Mr. Francis.

PAR. 9. ' You cannot but be thoroughly possessed of my opinion of the injustice and imprudence of all our proceedings with respect to the Mahrattas. ' On this subject you now have all the evidence before you, that argument and reason, confirmed by the most ruinous experience, are capable

capable of furnishing. In attempting to support
 the pretensions of Ragoba, and the views of the
 Presidency of Bombay, you found the *unanimous*
 opinion of the Governor General and Council,
 that is, of men who seldom agreed in other
 points, decidedly against the measure. This was
 true, at least, in the year 1775, though a different
 system has since prevailed in Bengal. I shall say
 nothing of the conduct of Mr. Hastings's nego-
 ciation with Moodjee Boosha. You see to what
 a state they have reduced us, and in what con-
 clusion they have ended. In my judgment, the
 principle on which that scheme was professedly
 founded, stood in opposition to the obvious dic-
 tates of sound policy and common sense. After
 the death of Madharrow, in 1772, the union of
 that great body, which constituted the Mahratta
 empire, was dissolved. The principal chiefs, set
 up for themselves, and no longer acknowledged
 any one common superior; or, if they acknow-
 ledged the superiority of the infant Paishwah,
 it was purely a matter of form. In this state, they
 naturally endeavoured to secure their respective
 independence, by courting the friendship, or, at
 least, by avoiding the enmity, of the English power.
 In what sense could it possibly be our interest to re-
 store the union of an empire so dissolved, supposing
 the attempt practicable, or to vest its united
 strength in the hands of a single person? In
 the year 1778, they were so divided among
 themselves,

themselves, that nothing but our invading their country, with the avowed design of overturning their government, could have made them act together. Such was the plan of Mr. Hastings's proposed alliance with the Rajah of Berar, as it stands exhibited in his instructions to the late Mr. Elliot, in July 1778, and in many other recorded documents. The same plan included another object, not less unwise in point of policy, and still more dangerous in the execution than the first: I mean the project of uniting with Moodajee Boosla, to invade the dominions of Nizam Ally Cawn, and to deprive him of a considerable part of his possessions. From this project, which could not be long a secret to the Nizam, the subsequent union, which appears to have been concerted by him, between Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas, Moodajee Boosla, and himself, took its origin. The invasion and ruin of the Carnatic, sprung from the same source; and, in conclusion, the Rajah of Berar, for whose advancement the plan is professedly formed, joins in the confederacy against us, and in effect (though not yet avowedly when I left India) becomes one of the most dangerous enemies we have to contend with. If this confederacy should not be strong enough to maintain itself, and to accomplish the designs of the contracting parties, whatever they may be, the last resource will unquestionably be, to call in the French to their assistance. I will not trespass, gentle-
 men,

men, any longer on your patience. If objections are made to any thing advanced in this paper, I believe I can answer them. If explanations are wanted, I am ready to give them. In entering so far as I have done into such a detail, it is not my purpose to criminate any man, nor even to condemn measures, merely for the sake of condemning them. Your governments in India, are actually involved in a labyrinth of difficulties; I therefore think it my duty, to trace to you the principal steps by which you have been, imperceptibly to yourselves, misled into this labyrinth; because I believe it to be the surest, if not the only method you can take, to find your way out of it.

P. FRANCIS:

R E M A R K.

I COME now to the last paragraph of this famous letter, and I do assure you, Right Honourable Sir, that I am very glad of it; for, to labour through such a collection of dismal prophecies, unsupported assertions, and positive falsehoods, without one ray of truth, on which to rest the mind for a moment on the way, is, as you well know, no easy task. The hotch-potch complexion of this take leave paragraph is so perplexed, from containing the essence of all the foregoing ones, that

I shall

I shall limit my remarks on it to a single observation, or, at most, two!

In this part of his letter, Mr. Francis, in some degree, acquits Mr. Hastings, of being the original cause of the Mahratta war. His reasons are obvious enough; because another Committee from your House, having the matter before them, it was more his immediate interest to speak truth than otherwise. But what will he say to his agent, Macintosh, whom he dispatched home the season before he came himself, with frightful accounts of the Mahratta war, Rohillo wars, and cargoes of other falsehoods against the 'Governor General, all which was issued out of his mint in Piccadilly. If he does not get something done to stop the mouth of that sable, predatory historian, he will most assuredly turn his black goose quill against his master, for he is one of those Swiss-like penmen, who will undertake any cause; and if I had any use for pamphlet-manufacturers, I would certainly buy him over with the other half-crown.

MR. Francis declares, that he does not wish to criminate any man; all he means is, that, as the Company's affairs have been so twisted and twirled, interwoven and knotted together, in which unlucky situation he both found them, on his arrival in India, and left them when he came away,

he cannot help offering his service to the Company and to Parliament, to endeavour to set them to rights again. Whether the experience the Company have already had of his services, will induce them to trust their affairs again in his hands, I do not know ; or whether you, Sir, and his Majesty's new Ministers, have in contemplation to cram him, with others of his tribe, down the throats of the Company, as your predecessors in office did, you can best tell ; but I know that if the present Proprietors of Stock, and Directors of the Company, submit to swallow such a ministerial potion, I much question whether their constitution is now sufficiently strong to get the better of the poisonous effects of it ; because no man will expect their great Physician, Governor General Hastings, will prescribe for another seven years together, the necessary antidotes to counteract its pernicious consequences.

I suppose, Sir, by your exhibiting Mr. Francis's productions in the Report of the Committee, that you thought that you had an intelligent, a candid, and an honest man, to deal with, and that you thereby was about to do a public benefit to society. I hope the clear and fair account which I have given you, attended by proofs in almost every page, of his real conduct and character, during his stay in India, and since his arrival in England, will have weight

weight enough with you to suspend your final judgment, until he has fairly and honestly refuted the assertions and facts in this and my former Letter.

I RETURN, with no small degree of reluctance, to the part you have yourself taken in the compilation of the Report! That you had compiled it from the minutes of the Committee, was one of the points in my former Letter, which I did not press so closely as I should have done, had I then had so good authority for so doing, as I have now. Your Chairman, Sir, has paid you some handsome compliments on the elegance of the performance, and the information you have helped him to; and you, in your turn, rubbed down your honourable Chairman, on his great industry and abilities. This, Sir, with great patriots, is very well; and hungry coffee-house politicians swallow down the condescending complaisance of the two great men; and approve in senators, what, amongst honest tradesmen, such as themselves, they would call the most fulsome flattery. I, Sir, have read both your Reports, over and over- again, with an eye to the discovery of truth, however it might be enveloped by eloquence, and I am bold again to declare, in the face of the whole kingdom, that when you penned the reflections and insinuations

quoted

quoted in my former Letter, from page 49 of your last Report, you had not truth for your landmark. Captain Cowe is the only one person, in seven very intelligent and very honourable witnesses, who speaks the least word about its being the opinion of some people, that the execution of the Rajah NUNDOMAR, was a 'political measure; ' nor would his saying so have been admitted an evidence in any other place. The words, Sir, were not his own; they had been put into his mouth by the person who examined him; yet, dreadful to think of, this *no evidence* has induced you to throw out the most severe and cruel aspersions on the characters of his Majesty's Judges, and the Governor General of Bengal. If asserting what I feel to be the truth; shall be construed into *Scandalum magnatum*, call me, and try me, on the merits: I shall be nothing backward to appear.

I am, Right Honourable Sir,

With all due Respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.

BOROUGH, April 18, 1782.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

WHAT a world is this we live in! I can boast some friends; and to those friends I must seriously appeal, to know, if they think that I have an enemy in the world, who has been made so, by any other means than a strong habit of speaking and writing truths, which wound the ear of some notorious culprit, or public peculator; yet these friends write me, in terms rather too harsh for friendship, that, by meddling at all in this business, I have hurt the political interests of Governor Hastings. I never once thought of the Governor: I honour the private virtues of the man; and observing, that scandal had made its way into the Senate House, where his moral character lay stretched on the rack, ready to be offered up, to glut the revenge of men, who hate him for his virtues and his abilities, it broke in upon my rest, and I rushed forward (perhaps, with too little ceremony) to ward the blow, or break its violence; for which, if I am deserted by those I esteem, I say with Pope,

Welcome for thee, fair Virtue, all the past:
For thee, fair Virtue, welcome e'en the last.

A

THIRD LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

A

THIRD LETTER
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDMUND BURKE, Esq.
ON THE
SUBJECT OF THE EVIDENCE
CONTAINED IN THE
Reports of the Select Committee
OF THE
House of Commons.
WITH AN
INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

London.
PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXII
REPRINTED M,DCC,LXXXIII.

AN

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

TO THE

THIRD LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

SIR,

YOU have disappointed me extremely, in not producing in one of the Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Asiatic judicial affairs, the evidence of Mr. Charles Goring. The man's moral and political principles coincide so exactly with your own, that I had proposed infinite pleasure to myself, from reading the commentaries of a Burke on the evidence of a Goring. When I first heard that you had been advised to call him up, in order to support, by his testimony, your elaborate and partial

strictures on the limping evidence of a Cowe, I foresaw much well deserved disgrace to your faction, from your inveterate credulity. The whole East India Company's service could not furnish out a character so completely calculated to damn a cause, as this same Mr. Goring. Nor should the friends of Governor General Hastings have taken any notice of your proceedings; they ought to have known that candour and fair dealing, would be lost on the leaders of a certain Committee. They had had sufficient experience of your method of drawing up Reports, and in prudence and in policy, should have permitted you to have gone on to commit yourself as disgracefully, by partial comments in the third Report, on the veracity of a Goring, as you had done in the second, on the whimsical and truly novel ideas of a Cowe. From the first reading of the second Report, it was my advice, that the Governor General's friends should keep aloof, and suffer you to go on. I saw that the Chairman of your Committee, assisted by that spleenetic little hero, the Bengal Cutcherryman, and the artful Philip Francis, had discovered your credulous cullibility, and would lead you on to prostitute your superior abilities, in gilding over the evidence of any the most daring advocate they should think proper to introduce at the Speaker's chamber, to say to the Committee any thing they should dictate against the Governor General of Bengal.

MR. Goring was introduced, he was examined at your table, the information he produced was entered on the face of the minutes of the Committee, but in the Reports since delivered into the House, no notice is taken of it Pray, Sir, is this a common custom with the Committees of the House of Commons? Is it usual with them to drop such parts of the evidence taken at their table, as does not suit with the politics of the Chairman, or the sentiments of the Compiler? Whatever Mr. Goring may have said, must have gratified the spleen of the enemies of the Governor General, because the reason assigned for sending for him to the Committee, was, that at all times, and in all places, where he could claim the least attention, his practice was to calumniate in gross terms, the character of that gentleman I must own that I had not the least conception that your Chairman would have sunk his evidence I am not entitled to dispute with the Committee, their right of withholding any part of the information which may have been given in at their table, but not having the least suspicion that they would indulge themselves in so doing, I had prepared an antidote to counteract the venom which you, Sir, as permanent to the Committee, might have extracted from the partial representations of such a veteran as Mr. Goring. Some hints were given to me of the kind of matter, written and verbal, which the man produced, and which, in such hands as yours,

might have been so distorted, as to have been prejudicial to the honour of Governor Hastings, at a time when the whole nation had been convinced, that the mal-practices of some Asiatic managers, have involved the Company in the pernicious and ruinous war in the Carnatic. The moment was critical: The well known spleen of your Chairman to Mr. Hastings, the countenance given by the Committee to the false representations of Mr. Francis, whose implacable inveteracy to the same gentleman has been long known to the world, together with your eloquent glossary on the scraps of false information fished out of the mouth of Captain Cowe, made me apprehend, that your whole powers would be employed to draw the attention of the House to the evidence of Mr. Goring. I knew the man from his first setting out in life. I knew that you was a stranger to his true character, and being eager in the cause of bringing about the recall of Governor-General Hastings, you were the more likely to be imposed on, and that induced me to prepare a Third Letter to you, which I had intended to have published on the instant that I should have read in any one of the Reports of the Select Committee, your commentary on the evidence of Mr. Goring; but you have dropped it for reasons best known to yourself. However, as there appear in many other parts of the Reports from the Select Committee, which have been printed and given to

the public since the recess of Parliament, strong marks of party spleen and personal malice to Mr. Hastings, which I attribute to a very few individuals amongst you, it may be of use to the other Members of the Committee, and to the House at large, to know a little more of the true characters of Mr. Philip Francis, whose evidence you have given up, and of Mr. Charles Goring, whose information you have thought proper to suppress. With this view, Sir, I now publish my Third Letter to Mr. Burke; and this Introduction to it, I not only intend as a Preface, but also as a channel, in which to convey to you some few remarks on the other parts of the Reports, in which I think that I shall convince others that your rancour is so sharp, that you have been induced to admit into your Reports, matter totally beneath the dignity of the House of Commons to take notice of; matter so frivolous and trifling in itself, that it is impossible to account for the introduction of it, without adverting to the personal attachments and dislikes of the managers.

I SHALL single out two instances; the first from the fifth Report, and the other from the sixth, which I think will be fully sufficient to shew, that by some means, better known to you than to me, the Select Committee have condescended to act the part of Echo to a party, long since dissolved by the death of General Clavering and Colonel

Colonel Monson, in retailing to the nation the ridiculous and uninteresting stuff compiled by Mr. Philip Francis some years past, to serve the political purposes of the triumvirate, composed of himself, and the two gentlemen above mentioned : the second, to point out the extreme malice of your Chairman, who, with a beam in his own eye, that would have blinded, if not silenced any modest man, pretends to discover a moat in that of the Governor General.

In my First Letter to you, Sir, I gave you a simple detail of the conduct of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, towards Mr. Hastings, on their first arrival at Bengal. The facts I there produced, have never been denied by Mr. Francis, or any one of his abettors. It was an unvarnished tale, founded on truth, and artlessly related. It spoke home to the bosom of every unprejudiced person, because every man who read the pamphlet, saw that the author trusted to truth alone, stating facts as they were, without intention to deceive. You will find the following Letter drawn up on the same principles, and supported in the same manner. Some apology indeed may be necessary for the author's extreme contempt for the men, who had so far forgot themselves, and the dignity of their station, as to attempt to impose on the judgment of the House of Commons, and the nation at large, such infamous

infamous assertions as were given up by Mr. Goring. But you must remember, that I could not foresee, that the same man who had so elaborately commented on the evidence of Captain Cowe, would boggle at drawing similar conclusions from the well conned lesson of a Goring. It appears that some grains of grace yet remained. As you have been ashamed to give the evidence, or even so much as to mention the man's name, in any one of your Reports, I also feel disconcerted at having employed so much time in commenting on the conduct of such a being. However, I shall let him retain his seat at the board where I have placed him, until you shall furnish me with a member more worthy. Mr. Francis, General Smith, and Mr. Rouse, might feel displeased at the man's being taken from them, and as I have no quarrel with those gentlemen, but what arises from their having pursued similar measures, to obtain the same ends, I will not offend them by striking the name of Goring from a list, in which theirs must for ever remain.

I HAVE been told that the little Bengal Justice, or Cutcherry Hero, was so much offended at my First Letter to you, Sir, that he talked of employing the hangman to burn it, and having the Author to the Bar of the House. I am not malicious; but I wish a blister on the tongue of that man, who prevented him from moving for such orders.

orders. Does the man conceive that the Report of a Committee is no more to be canvassed in this country, than a decree of the Sudder Dewahnee Adawlet, in the country where he made his fortune? I recommend it to him to be quiet; silence and retirement will suit better with his limited parts; and nature has laid a bar in the way to his ever becoming an admired orator. There are spots in his character that may pass unnoticed in the shade of obscurity, but which, if he will examine his own heart, it will inform him, are not calculated to see the light. The Chairman, whose whole life has been spent in acts of hasty accumulation, or ostentatious expence of what he lightly acquired, or Mr. Francis, who never yet sacrificed at the shrine of truth, whilst his interest made misrepresentation necessary, are much better calculated to act the part of modern patriots; and Mr. Rouse will do wisely to leave them entirely.

PERHAPS the above digressive attention to individuals, may have given you just cause of offence. I will, therefore, return to more general subjects, and by divesting your Reports of their glossy chicanery, which confounds and bewilders the plain matters of fact, relate the stories of Messrs Bristow, Fowke, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, just as they happened, and in language that every body shall understand.

In my First Letter, I gave you a very concise, retrospective view, into the situation of the Company's affairs at Bengal; when the Majority arrived there in 1774, as also of the conduct of Governor General Hastings in the thirty preceding months, which, included the whole of his government. To that Letter, and the following one, I might with safety refer you, without further quotation here; but references are at all times awkward, and few readers are sufficiently interested to be at the trouble of making them. The facts I want not only to explain, but also to imprint on the mind of the reader, are few, but very interesting, and of important consequence in the defence of Governor Hastings. It suited the policy of the late triumvirate in the government of Bengal, to mistake and wrongfully represent every part of his conduct; and their representations have been adopted not only by the Managers in Leadenhall-Street, but also by your Committee. I shall mention a few instances. In Report the fifth, the House of Commons and the Public are informed, that Governor Hastings had disobeyed the orders of the Court of Directors, in not replacing M^{ohammed} Reza Cawn. You introduce some arguments, and abundance of official papers, the production of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to prove this supposed refractory disposition in the Governor; but you had not candour enough to give the whole story as you ought

ought to have done, from which the House and the Public might have judged for themselves. It is this want of candour in the Committee, arising from the partiality of your Chairman and yourself, to the prejudice of Mr. Hastings, of which I have and will complain, whilst you continue to shew it. Mark how a plain unvarnished tale shall put you down.

I AM obliged to do what you in justice ought to have done, go back in the Company's Bengal affairs to the year 1771. In that year Mr. Hastings was ordered from being Second in the Council at Madras, to proceed to Bengal, and take charge of the government there. The bills for a million sterling, which had been drawn on the Company from the Presidency of Bengal only, (a measure strongly enforced by General Richard Smith, then Third in the Council, and Commander in Chief of the Army, and who paid into the treasury on his own account, nearly one tenth part of the money, (how collected, you will see in the accompanying Letter) had alarmed them very much. The famine followed the bills; and the nation was terrified and disgusted at the infamous accounts which had been transmitted by interested men, of the causes which were said to have brought it on. Not only all our daily papers execrated the Managers at Bengal, (who, by the bye, were just as guilty of it, as they are of the

the late gales of wind on the banks of Newfoundland) but the Abbé Renail has fouled his page, by giving up dismal stories of what never happened. In that hour of general accusation, the Court of Directors were taught to believe, that Mahommed Reza Cawn, the Naib Subah, or Deputy Nabob of Bengal, had used his influence in the provinces, to monopolize the rice, and thereby starve to death a third of the common inhabitants of the kingdom. With this idea in their minds, the Secret Committee at the India House, wrote privately to Mr. Hastings the following Letter.

Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to Warren Hastings, Esq. dated the 28th of August, 1771.

‘ SIR,

‘ BY our general address, you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But though we declared our resolution in this respect to our President and Council, yet as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof, might be defeated by

‘ that

* that Minister, and all enquiry into his conduct
 * rendered ineffectual, were he to have any pre-
 * vious intimation of our design, we, the Secret
 * Committee, having the most perfect confidence
 * in your judgment, prudence, and integrity, have
 * thought proper to entrust to your especial care,
 * the execution of those measures, which alone
 * can render the Naib's conduct subject to the
 * effect of a full enquiry, and secure that retr-
 * bution which may be due on the detection of
 * any fraud, embezzlement, or collusive practice,
 * in his public or private transactions.

- * IN order, therefore, to make him amenable
 * to a due course of justice, and to prevent the ill
 * consequences which might result from the resent-
 * ment and revenge which he may conceive on
 * the knowledge of our intentions, we hereby
 * direct and enjoin you (immediately on the re-
 * ceipt of this Letter) to issue your private orders
 * for the securing the person of Mahommed Reza
 * Cawn, together with his whole family, and his
 * known partizans and adherents, and to make use
 * of such measures as your prudence shall suggest,
 * for bringing them down to Calcutta; and it is
 * our pleasure, that they by no means be suffered
 * to quit the place, until Mahommed Reza Cawn
 * shall have exculpated himself from the crimes of
 * which he now stands charged or suspected, or
 * shall have duly accounted for the revenues col-
 * lected

lected by him in the Chucklah of Dacca, and have made restitution of all sums which he may have appropriated to his own use, either from the Dewanee revenues, or the Nabob's stipends, and until he also shall have satisfied the claims of all such persons, as may have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression, committed by him in the office of Naib Dewan.

As the detection of any corrupt practices of which Mahommed Reza Cawn may have been guilty, and the retribution which in such cases is to be required of him, are equally the objects of public justice and the Company's interest, we assure ourselves that you will sedulously endeavour to penetrate into the most hidden parts of his administration, and discover the reality of the several facts with which he is charged, or the justness of the suspicions we have of his conduct.

In this research, your own judgment will direct you to all such means of information, as may be likely to bring to light the most secret of his transactions. We, however, cannot forbear recommending to you, to avail yourself of the intelligence which NENDCOMAR may be able to give respecting the Naib's administration; and, while the envy which NENDCOMAR is supposed to bear this Ministry, may prompt him to a ready communication

• communication of all proceedings which have
 • come to his knowledge, we are persuaded, that
 • no scrutable part of the Naib's conduct can have
 • escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and pe-
 • netrating rival.

• HENCE we cannot doubt but that the abilities
 • and disposition of NUNDOMAR, may be success-
 • fully employed in the investigation of Mahom-
 • med Reza Cawn's administration, and bring to
 • light any embezzlement, fraud, or malversation,
 • which he may have committed in the office of
 • Naib Dewan, or in the station he has held under
 • the several successive Subahs: and while we as-
 • sure ourselves that you will make the necessary
 • use of NUNDOMAR's intelligence, we have such
 • confidence in your wisdom and caution, that we
 • have nothing to fear from any secret motives or
 • designs, which may induce him to detect the
 • mal-administration of one whose power has been
 • the object of his envy, and whose office the aim
 • of his ambition: for we have the satisfaction to
 • reflect, that you are too well apprised of the sub-
 • tility and disposition of NUNDOMAR, to yield
 • him any trust or authority, which may be turned
 • to his own advantage, and prove detrimental to
 • the Company's interest.

• THOUGH we have thought it necessary to in-
 • timate to you, how little we are disposed to de-
 • legate

* legate any power or influence to NUNDOMAR;
 * yet, should his information and assistance be
 * serviceable to you, in your investigating the con-
 * duct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, you will yield
 * him such encouragement and reward, as his
 * trouble and the extent of his services may
 * deserve.

* By our general advices, we deemed it ad-
 * viceable to mention only, that we had received
 * information of Mahommed Reza Cawn's having
 * increased the calamities of the poor, during the
 * height of famine, by a Monopoly of Rice, and
 * other necessaries of life. We were, indeed, re-
 * strained from an open communication on this
 * subject, fearing the consequence, which might
 * ensue from the Minister's revenge, should he
 * learn by whom such accusation had been brought
 * against him; but, persuaded, as we are, of your
 * secrecy and discretion, we herewith transmit to
 * you, Extract of a Letter from —— to ——,
 * wherein Mahommed Reza Cawn is charged with
 * a crime of so atrocious a nature; and we the
 * rather advise you of ——'s information, as we
 * rely on your endeavours to obtain full evidence
 * respecting the truth of this allegation, as well
 * as of suc's ribess, as are the objects of the ser-
 * vices we have directed to be made into the
 * Naib's conduct.

‘ SENSIBLE; as you must be, of the importance of the charge thus confidentially committed to you, we shall not seek to animate your zeal for the Company’s welfare; but observe only, that, by the effectual execution of the separate trust reposed in you, you will at once render the Company a signal and essential service, and approve yourself worthy of the opinion we have formed of your judgment, prudence, and integrity, and which we have so fully manifested, in selecting you to preside in the administration of the Government of Bengal.

‘ We are

‘ Your loving friends, &c.‘

LONDON, Aug. 28, 1771.

A PERSON who shall read the above Letter, with attention to the matter it contains, will need no explanations, further than my observing, that in consequence of it, Mahommed Reza Cawn was divested of his power, and brought down to Calcutta, where a severe and strict enquiry was entered into relative to his preceding conduct, as Naib Subah of the Provinces. The proceedings were regularly transmitted to the Company by every ship: they are as voluminous, and as unconnected with the matter in hand, as many papers in your Reports are to the business recommended by the House to your enquiry: nor shall I notice them; but fortunately for the cause of truth, and

the

the honour of Governor General Hastings, he had thought it necessary to sum up the whole of the evidence, and to give his opinion on it to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as a full answer to their private Letter to him on the subject. For once in your life, Sir, be candid, read his answer with temper, and particularly note, that it is dated in Calcutta, at the very moment of time, when, by appointment of the legislature, the furious triumvirate, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, were added to the Council General, with the declared purpose of aiding and assisting Mr. Hastings in his government of Bengal.

Letter from Governor Hastings to the
Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, for the Affairs of the Honourable United East-India Company.

Fort William, March 24, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH the proceedings of the Board, contain very minutely recorded, all the measures which were taken for prosecuting the enquiry into the conduct of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and my own sentiments, both in the course and issue of it, are therein inserted at large, yet, as I was originally honoured with your especial

commands for conducting this intricate business; I conceive it to be in some measure incumbent upon me to address you on its conclusion, that I may account for any apparent deficiency, by stating the difficulties which I have had to encounter in the discharge of it. I will speak first of that charge which was more particularly the object of your attention and our enquiry; I mean the monopoly of grain.

You will be pleased to recollect that the charge was general, without any specification of time, places, or persons. I had neither witnesses, nor vouchers, nor materials of any sort, to begin with; for these I relied chiefly on the abilities, observation, and active malignity, of Maha Rajah NUND COMAR; but not resting wholly on his aid, I took such other precautions as were most likely to produce informations against Mahomed Reza Cawn, if his conduct had really merited that return from the people of this country. In concurrence with the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbazar, and with the Council here, I published advertisements, inviting all persons to give information against such as had contributed to the distresses of the country, in the time of the famine, by the monopoly of grain, or any other unfair practices, on the wants and necessities of the people. I allowed all who had any thing to offer on these subjects, to have access to me; and,

‘ and, although I never had much time to spare, I
 ‘ patiently bestowed many hours, and even days,
 ‘ of it, in listening to the multiplied, but indefi-
 ‘ nite suggestions of NUNDCOMAR. In a word, I
 ‘ omitted no means which were consistent with my
 ‘ character, to bring the truth of this accusation
 ‘ to light.

‘ IN the course of the enquiry, I proceeded
 ‘ with the most rigid impartiality, not suffering (I
 ‘ can safely say) the smallest bias to incline me.
 ‘ You will see with what materials I was furnished;
 ‘ I am sorry to say, that some were collected with
 ‘ so little decency and regard to truth, as to make
 ‘ me apprehensive of the effects which they might
 ‘ have produced on my character, from the coun-
 ‘ tenance which I afforded to the principal agent
 ‘ in the prosecution, had I not in my own imme-
 ‘ diate conduct, invariably adhered to the strictest
 ‘ rules of justice. My judgment was formed with
 ‘ the same temper of mind; and I continue in the
 ‘ persuasion, that it will be found perfectly con-
 ‘ sistent with the evidence before me, which cost
 ‘ me much labour and attention, in the midst of
 ‘ continued interruption, to collect it from the re-
 ‘ cords of near thirty different examinations.

‘ I INFORMED Rajah Huzzoorymul of the re-
 ‘ ference which you had been pleased to direct me
 ‘ to make to him, for the facts on which h's in-

formation (a copy of which I received in your commands by the Lapwing) was grounded. He came several times to me with the express purpose and promise of entering into a full communication of the subject, and brought with him an old and respectable Merchant of this City, since deceased, who, he said, was equally apprised of these circumstances with himself, to aid him in his informations; but after much timid hesitation, mutual reference, and procrastination, they both at length declined it; nor could I ever obtain the smallest intelligence from either. I should be sorry if this report were to give you an unfavourable opinion of Rajah Iluzzoorymul: I can truly affirm, that I know not a man of a more guarded conduct, or a more conscientious integrity: Either the fear of the consequences affecting his character, restrained him from avowing what he knew, or (which I think more likely) he was misled by the clamours of the people, in the information which he originally gave to Mr. Gregory.

With respect to the accounts of the Nizamut, and the balance said to be due from Mahomed Reza Cawn, for the collections made by him at Dacca, during the life time of Jaffier Ally Cawn, it was certainly more in the power of NUNDOMAR, than of any other person, to furnish

“ furnish me with the fullest and most authentic state of both. Besides an official and practical knowledge which he possessed of the nature of the former, of which at one time he had the entire management, he had at this time the command of all the accounts of the Nizamut, through the means of his son, Rajah Goordass, who is the Dewan of that office.”

“ He possessed the entire confidence of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, at the time in which Mahomed Reza Cawn was employed as Agent for the Dacca Collections, and had actually entered into a scrutiny of his conduct, during the life of that Nabob, which scrutiny produced the balance now appearing against him.

“ All the accounts on these heads, which I have ever received from Rajah NUNDOMAR, stand upon record, and they are such as appear more calculated to acquit Mahomed Reza Cawn, than establish any proofs against him. Indeed, he has lately offered to furnish me with very minute accounts of the Dacca Collections, during the period of Mahomed Reza Cawn’s agency; but these were not put into my hands until the enquiry was closed, although he had taken other indirect means (I know not why) to bring them to the notice of the Board. And as

“ to

to the Nizamut accounts, although I have used
 every means, for upwards of ten months past,
 both with him and his son, which could operate
 either on their hopes or fears, to obtain them,
 they were not delivered till the latter end of Ja-
 nuary last, and were then accompanied with the
 promise of a separate proof of embezzlement in
 the article of Exchange, which, after fresh im-
 portunity, both from myself and from the Board,
 was transmitted so late, that it arrived only on
 the 10th instant: nor did this, more than any
 other papers furnished by NUNDOMAR, afford
 any thing like proofs, but only reiterated charges,
 without one voucher, or the least aid that might
 direct us to one.

I AM at a loss to discover the secret spring
 which governs the mysterious conduct of this
 man, as I am certain he is impelled by nothing
 less than a desire to favour Mahommed Reza
 Cawn. It might suit well with his private views
 to procrastinate the issue of the enquiry, although
 it would be little consistent with the credit or
 justice of your Administration, to prolong it to
 a farther period, two years having been already
 consumed in bringing it to a close on our pro-
 ceedings. Many attempts, indeed, were made
 by NUNDOMAR, both in the course of this af-
 fair, and in the examination of Maha Rajah
 Shitabroy,

‘ Shitabroy, to obtain a formal commission for
 ‘ making a personal and local inquisition into the
 ‘ accounts of the collections depending on both;
 ‘ but of this I disapproved, knowing that such a
 ‘ power might be converted, and believing that
 ‘ in his hands, it would be converted to purposes
 ‘ very detrimental to the revenue, and oppressive
 ‘ to the people: it was proposed to the Board,
 ‘ and by them peremptorily refused.

‘ NOTWITHSTANDING the consciousness which
 ‘ I possess of my own integrity, and the certainty
 ‘ that my conduct throughout this ungrateful bu-
 ‘ siness, will, on the most rigid scrutiny, do me
 ‘ credit, yet I am not without my fears. I am
 ‘ aware of the violent prejudices which were taken
 ‘ up at once against Mahommed Reza Cawn by
 ‘ all ranks of people, both here and at home.
 ‘ I am also aware, that in England, where the
 ‘ very name of enquiry into the past management
 ‘ of affairs in India, flatters the passion of the
 ‘ times, and raises expectations of great and im-
 ‘ portant detections, the result may baulk those
 ‘ expectations, and turn the torrent of public cla-
 ‘ mour another way. In many of the private Let-
 ‘ ters which I received from my friends in Eng-
 ‘ land, I was warned to act with the greatest cau-
 ‘ tion in this enquiry, as the confirmation of my
 ‘ credit with the public, and, forgive me for add-
 ‘ ing,

‘ ing, with your Honourable Court, depended
upon it.

‘ The magnitude of the charges which were
‘ alledged against Mahommed Reza Cawn, his
‘ reputed wealth, the means which that afforded
‘ him both of suppressing evidence, and even of
‘ influencing his judges in his favour, and the na-
‘ tural conclusion deducible from so many exag-
‘ gerated accusations, that some part of them at least
‘ was true, gave additional force to these cau-
‘ tious intimations, and made me fear for the
‘ consequences; not only as they might affect my
‘ reputation, which it has been the study of my
‘ life to maintain unblemished, but as they might
‘ blast all my hopes from the continuation of your
‘ favour, which I hold solely on the credit of my
‘ integrity.‘

‘ It is possible that, on a review of the Pro-
‘ ceedings, you may find some critical circum-
‘ stances disregarded, some facts of consequence
‘ not sufficiently traced through all their con-
‘ nexions or dependent events, by which the truth
‘ might have been more successfully followed. I
‘ can only say, that I have never quitted this pro-
‘ secution but for affairs of greater moment, and
‘ although I ever bear the most respectful defer-
‘ ence for your commands, and have never suf-
‘ fered my zeal to slacken in their execution, yet
I must

‘ I must candidly own, that I never gave up a portion of my time to this business, without feeling a painful regret, that so much of it was lost to the care of your real interests; and how much of it I have bestowed on that, your records in the various departments over which I preside, will abundantly testify.

‘ *I must declare that I have another motive for my fears; the dark and deceitful character of NUND- COMAR, whose gratitude no kindness can bind, nor even his own interest disengage him from the crooked politics which have been the study and practice of his whole life. Of this I have had many very extraordinary proofs: I shall instance only two, as most expressive of his ruling character.*

‘ BEFORE my departure from Fort St. George, when my appointment to this Presidency was known, a messenger, expressly deputed from Munay Begum, came to me there with Letters from her, intreating my protection in the most earnest terms, both for her house and for the people of Bengal, against the tyranny of M^uhammed Reza Cawn, and referring me for further information, to Maha Rajah NUND COMAR, from whom I received similar Addresses on the same subject, and by the same hand. The Begum has since solemnly disowned her having ever

ever written such Letters, or authorised such a commission.

A very short time after the elevation of his son to the high office which he now possesses as Dewan to the Nabob, NUND COMAR sent draughts of Letters to the Begum, which he recommended to her to write to me, enumerating the many encroachments which had been made by the English government on the rights of the Ni zamut, and claiming them for the behalf of the Nabob. Copies of these draughts, communicated to me by the Resident, Mr. Middleton, and by other channels, are actually in my possession.

I TRUST to his own genius to furnish you with nearer proofs in the representations which he has already made, or which he may at this time convey to your knowledge.

My experience of his character has never altered my behaviour to him, but in such instances only, and such have occurred, as required it for the public tranquillity. I have supported the authority of Rajah Goordas, even in opposition to the Begum, because it was consistent with the credit and dignity of your Administration, that the system, which it had been

thought

thought proper on well considered grounds to appoint, should be steadily supported.

I HAVE also, in many little instances, by my countenance, assisted the personal influence of Maha Rajah NUNDCOMAR; and I have endeavoured to turn both his good and bad qualities to account for the advantage of the Honourable Company, in such occasions as could admit of the application of either; but I must say, that I have been disappointed in all my past expectations from him, and do not promise myself much benefit from his abilities in time to come, as the scene in which he had the fairest opportunity of displaying them, is now closed.

Whatever your resolution may be concerning the future fate of Mahommed Reza Cawn, it is my duty, although I believe it unnecessary, to represent, that, whatever reparation you may think due for his past sufferings, the restoration of any part of the power which he before possessed, will inevitably tend to the injury of the Company's affairs, and the diminution of your influence and authority.

THERE can be but one Government and one power in this Province. Even the pretensions of the Nabob may prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age to claim his lease

* Isease from the present state of pupilage, which
* prevents his asserting them.

* I have the honour to be,

* Gentlemen,

* Your most obedient and

* Most faithful Servant,

* WARREN HASTINGS.

HAVE you read the above Letter, Sir, in the manner that I recommended you to read it? Can human evidence furnish stronger proofs of the Governor General's opinion of the true character and real abilities of the two great rivals for power, Maha Rajah Nundcomar, and Mahomed Reza Cawn? This valuable Letter was written at Bengal, before it was known there, that new powers were coming out to India, which, in effect, superseded his own: and it was in the possession of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, before Clavering, Monson, and Francis, arrived in Calcutta. I have caused the 12th and 18th paragraphs to be printed in Italics, and I desire you, Sir, to keep them in your mind. The 12th is as explicit as words can make it, of the Governor's free sentiments of Nundcomar's character; and the 18th, in precisely the same number of lines, as expressive of his sentiments as to the conduct the Company

Company should pursue in future, relative to the employing as an officer of government, Mahomed Reza Cawn. Here you have the political creed of the Governor General under his own hands, though in a private Letter to the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman, of the Court of Directors, dated more than eight years ago. If, in one single instance, he has, in his public or private conduct, acted contrary to the sentiments so fully expressed in the above curious Letter, why has it not been produced? But it is impossible to produce what never did exist; and for that reason you have, in your Reports, swelled the Appendixes with useless papers, in order to confound and puzzle the mind of your readers, with matters as foreign to the purpose, as your prototype, Bolingbroke says, the neighing of the horse of the son of Hystaspis, was to good government. But I will supply your deficiency by a little narration of facts, that shall please all but those concerned with you, in injuring the character of Governor Hastings.

IT must not be forgotten, that the foregoing Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to Mr. Hastings, and his answers to it, were private, and in Bengal known only to the Governor himself; and he kept the secret so inviolably, that in its consequences, it had nearly destroyed his own moral character at Calcutta, and to

to this moment continues to operate against it in this country. Virtue is said to be its own reward ; and in no instance could a person depend more upon it than Mr. Hastings has done. I believe, Sir, that it was to his conduct in this particular, that you referred, when you called his politics crooked politics. You have been deceived in his character, Sir, and under that deception, have proceeded to injure him to a degree that you cannot forgive. You know the human heart, and want no explanation of the assertion. At Bengal, the seizure of Mahommed Reza Cawn was thought to be a measure of Mr. Hastings's only ; and as a long time passed over without proofs of the Naib's delinquency being discovered, people began to murmur at the severity with which he had been treated ; and many malicious insinuations were handed about ; such, Sir, as those drawn up, by yourself in the second Report of the Select Committee, relative to the trial of Nundcomar. 'It was, said that Mr. Hastings had removed the Naib Subah from his office in the government, to make way for his own creatures ; and was forming a tale, with the assistance of the man's mortal enemy, (Nundcomar,) to send home to the Company, in order to raise himself a name, and to justify his giving great part of Mahommed Reza Cawn's, power to the Rajah Nundcomar's son-in law. This clamour against the Governor, had extended to all his enemies in Calcutta ; and his own silence . . . with

with respect to the private orders which he had received from home, made some of his friends uneasy, fearing he had taken upon himself measures, that the evidence obtained of the delinquency of the Naib Subah, would not justify him for doing. This idea had gained much ground in Calcutta, and it was taken for granted by all his enemies, that the Governor had confided entirely in the abilities and well known enmity of Nundcomar, to furnish evidence sufficient to destroy his rival in the opinion of the public abroad, and the Company at home.

In this situation, matters were, when General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, arrived. Their intention to drive the Governor General out of the Chair, was soon made known in the settlement. Even the best friends of Mr. Hastings did not know, or were not authorised by him to declare, on what authority he had acted in respect to Mahammed Reza Cawn. His having employed Nundcomar with seeming confidence, gave an air of greater mystery to the business; because it was well known to every body, that from the experience of many years, he knew the man to be a Machivaelian in politics, and a desperado in principle. What added still more to the wonder of the settlement, was his having appointed the son-in-law of Nundcomar, Rajah Goordass, to the Naib Subahship, contrary to the

the advice, and against the protest, of some very able members of his own Council. In spite of my original intention, I must refer you, Sir, to Appendix, No. 3, page 67, in my First Letter, for the Governor's inducement to this appointment. His reasoning there to be found, did, I believe, satisfy the Members at the Council Board. But what was to satisfy impatient private suspicion, and splenetic popular clamour! You have lately been of council to the King, and well know, or ought to know, that a Minister of State who betrays secrets of government, in order to silence uninformed popular clamour against himself, is very unfit for the station he holds. Nay, Sir, I think, that you said in your place in the House of Commons, that you should be very badly calculated for the station which you then held under the Crown, if you could not stand the pelting of the Morning Post and Morning Herald, and yet they related some damning truths; such as that of your taking early care to provide amply for yourself, your son, your brother, and your nephew. This was not the case with Mr. Hastings he had no relations to serve he had only to be steady, and laugh, as you pretend to have laughed, at the hes of the day. To him the tales circulating in Calcutta, were no more and yet, Sir, I will shew you presently, that this operated violently, and almost to his ruin, both at home and abroad, and continues still to vibrate on the ears

ears of those who ought to know better? Nay, I will go further, and prove to the whole kingdom, that the lies hatched eight years ago at Calcutta, by the enemies of Mr. Hastings, and which were so carefully brooded by the new Members of the Supreme Council, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, are the very same idle tales which you and your Chairman have called back into life, to serve the same purposes here, for which they were invented abroad. I deal in facts, Sir; obstinate, stubborn facts: they are on record. I give you chapter and verse. Nor shall all the flowery eloquence for which you are so famous, enable you to do them away.

THE circumstance of the removal of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and the appointment of Rajah Goordas to the Naib Subaship in Bengal, every body saw; but nobody knew on what principles the Governor had acted. The private order from his masters at home, was his own secret, and he kept it with a steadiness, that has more than once nearly brought on his own ruin. It may even have that consequence yet: for the prejudice which has so powerfully operated against him, as to induce a Vote for his recall in the House of Commons, hath taken its rise from the same mutilated and ill founded representations, which, in various ways, and in variety of shapes, have been obtruded on the public.

I AM obliged, in this place, to anticipate a quotation, which I have given to you in the following Letter, for a similar reason. Mr. Fowke, senior, the unhappy gentleman who had, a few weeks before the arrival of the Majority, quarrelled with the Governor General, was become imatical to him to a degree of frenzy. Unluckily, he had known General Clavering in Europe, and finding that the Majority were prone to receive evil impressions of Mr. Hastings, engaged in the service of the General as his, Persian Translator. Great evils arose from the stubborn inveteracy of this furious man. To all the settlement, except Rajah Nundcomar himself, the apparent confidence placed in him by the Governor General, appeared real; and conclusions were drawn, on account of the seeming intimacy between them, very unfavourable to the Governor's honour. The Rajah was invited to come over to the Majority, on the supposition that Mr. Hastings had really given his confidence to the man. His character for deception, and political trimming to the times, was well known to Mr. Fowke, the Minister to the new Government of Three. And the Rajah himself, knowing that Mr. Hastings never had any confidence in him, was well enough pleased (agreeable to the practice of his whole life) to take advantage of their credulity, and join the reigning powers; and without the least hesitation, engaged to furnish any information they wanted. This added

added to the stories which General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, had heard, on their first arrival, that Nundcomar had very lately been the confidential friend, and prime minister of Mr. Hastings, by whose assistance and information, he had removed from his office Mahommed Reza Cawn, were inducements sufficient for them to employ the Rajah, to draw up charges against the Governor; whose stubborn, and almost criminal virtue, would not stoop to undeceive even his friends: and on my conscience, I believe, that General Clavering, when he set his name to the following paragraphs in their Letters to the Court of Directors, firmly believed what he set his name to. To suppose that he did not believe them, is to suppose that he sacrificed his honour in this world, and his salvation in the next, to the demon of party. Mr. Francis is now the only survivor; let him choose the affirmative or negative side of the question. Either will reduce him to a situation, such as no man of honour would wish to be found in.

Extract of a Minute from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis.

‘ Fort William, April 11th, 1775.

‘ MAHA Rajah Nundcomar, whom the Governor calls a *miscreant*, we found had been but a very little time before his bosom friend, consulted on all occasions, and supported by him against the united protest of Messieurs Graham, Lawrell, and Dacres, who were closely connected with Mahammed Rezi Cawn, although the Governor knew him to have been (as he now says) guilty of a forgery. We have reason to suspect, that the intention was to make him Banyan to General Clavering, to surround the General and us with the Governor’s creatures, and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of the government. By this, and other slimsey deyices, so consonant to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the Governor General has been so long experienced, he probably flattered himself, that men, unpractised in such arts, might be perplexed and circumvented.

*

‘ NUNDCOMAR finding himself deceived or disappointed by the Governor General, soon made use of the means which his intimacy with the Governor

‘ Governor had put into his power, to gratify his
 ‘ resentment. Whatever might have been his
 ‘ motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear
 ‘ light upon the Honourable Governor General’s
 ‘ conduct, and the means he had taken of making
 ‘ the very large fortune he is said to possess, of
 ‘ upwards of Forty Lacks of Rupees, which he
 ‘ must have amassed in about two years and a
 ‘ half.

(Signed)

‘ J. CLAVERING,
 ‘ GEO. MONSON,
 ‘ P. FRANCIS.”

HERE is personality for you with a witness! Could you, Sir, or any other honest man in the kingdom, have imagined that such men as General Clavering and Colonel Monson, would suffer their minds to have been so warped by party spleen, as coolly and deliberately to set their names to such paragraphs as the above? That Philip Francis should draw them up, is no wonder,—trained up to deceive, the truth is not in him. But that I have confined myself to a few quotations, I could present you with a hundred from the same Letter, equally false, personal, malicious, and inveterate.

THE Governor was ordered by his masters from home, on his being appointed to the Government

vernment of Bengal, first to remove from all power Mahammed Reza Cawn ; then to make a strict scrutiny into his conduct, as Naib Subah ; to employ Rajah Nundcomar in this enquiry ; and to refer the whole information to them.' He did so. But though he could not find any criminal matter against Mahammed Reza Cawn, on the subjects into which he was ordered to enquire, yet he had seen enough of the man's influence and power in the provinces, to induce him to advise the Company, for political reasons, not to reinstate him in the office of Naib Subah of Bengal. His principles of action, with respect to Mahammed Reza Cawn, had been established in the manner we have seen, many months before the Majority arrived in the country ; it is now eight years ago ; and he remains fixed in the same opinion yet. He has no enmity to the man. Any advantages the Company wish him to draw from their favour, Governor Hastings does not, nor ever will, withhold from him. But he condemns the idea of restoring a man to power on the principles of party, who, with it, may do much harm in the present unsettled state of India. I am not of consequence enough to know the Governor General's intentions ; but having studied his principles of action for a number of years, I think that some late orders which have been sent on the subject of restoring Mahammed Reza Cawn, and a few others which I shall mention, may

may induce him to quit ; but he never will, by a complete compliance with them, disgrace his station.

I WOULD ask you, Sir, whether a Member of the House of Commons, or any other man, can find half the real information on this subject in the Reports of the Committee, that he may find in the above simple detail of facts, supported by evidence which you knew where to find as well as I did. But your point was to condemn, and cause to be removed from his station, the Governor of Bengal ; therefore, you took the story up in the middle, and caused to be copied into the Appendixes of your Reports, such papers only as the *good man*, Mr. Philip Francis, gave in, or pointed out—with what honour, integrity, or impartiality, I shall leave others to determine.

YOUR reasoning in the Report concerning the Resident of Oude, is so exactly the same with that you have held in respect to the story of Mahomed Reza Cawn, that it will not be easy to speak of it, without tautology. The Governor General, in his visit to the court of the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, in the year 1773, at which time he concluded with him the Treaty of Benares, had discovered that that ambitious Prince possessed not one virtuous quality of the mind. Born to tyrannic sway, his mental faculties had been totally neglected, and

and the bodily exercises only attended to. Though he had nerves and agility to sever the head of a bussalo from its body with his scymetar at a blow, and dexterity sufficient to break with a single bullet, discharged from his match-lock fowling piece, a jar from the head of a poor woman, at the distance of three hundred English yards, he was ignorant below contempt, in the knowledge necessary for the Vizier of the Empire of Hindooostan, and in his disposition, ambitious, selfish, brutal, suspicious, tyrannical, and cowardly. Withal this, he possessed Asiatic cunning enough to become a dangerous neighbour on the Company's confines, if not closely watched; and for this reason only, Mr. Hastings placed about him one of the Company's younger servants, in whose abilities and integrity he could confide, to be a watch on his political manœuvres, with orders to advise him regularly of all that passed at the Vizier's court. The correspondence which passed between the Governor General and this young gentleman, was in an easy, confidential, and familiar strain, where his positive or conjectural opinion on the state of affairs, and appearances of the intended future measures of the Vizier, sometimes supplied the place of the stiff and limited matter of fact file of the merely official Resident. And Mr. Middleton was considered by all the country powers, to be as much the confidential friend of the

the Governor General, as the agent of the Company. And I shall be glad to know, in what degree of estimation an English Ambassador would be held at a court in Europe, if it was known that he had not the confidence of the Ministry ?

On the arrival of the Majority, the first advice given to them by their Minister, was to recall this agent, and send up one of their own ; by which act they would, at one stroke, convince all the powers on the continent of India, that power had changed hands, and that it now rested with a Majority of the Board, and not with the Governor General. No man, Sir, knows better than you do, the political use of such a manœuvre, or you would not have voted the sending Admiral Pigot to relieve Lord Rodney. I believe that General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, had some such intention, in pursuing so violent a measure, as you seem to have had. But you stopped short ; they, Sir, went on : for at the very first meeting of the Council General to do business, the Governor General was called upon to deliver up all the correspondence which had passed, between him and Mr. Middleton, his agent at Oude. Mr. Hastings told them, that such parts of it as related to the political affairs of government, he would order to be laid before the Board ; but as his correspondence with Mr. Middleton, in many instances, ran in the friendly and familiar style,

no ways pertaining to the affairs of government, such parts, he concluded, they could have no desire to see, and he should, from a point of delicacy, withhold them.*

* Extract of a Letter from Bengal, dated November the 21st, 1774.

IN our first consultation in this department, we took into consideration a minute of the Governor General's respecting the political state of affairs in India, which he had delivered in at the preceding meeting in the other department, with respect to the war then carrying on against the Rohillas, in aid of the Vizier. We soon found that our opinions on its necessity and propriety, were likely to differ very widely. A Majority of the Board, consisting of the Commander in Chief, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, thought it necessary, for better elucidating the grounds and conduct of the war, to see the whole of the original correspondence between the Governor General, Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Vizier's Court, and Colonel Champion, commanding the troops acting in conjunction with him; and it was resolved to request the Governor General to lay it before the Board accordingly.

The Governor General and Mr. Barwell dissented from this resolution; and the former, at a subsequent meeting, delivered in a minute, declaring, that he meant to lay before the Board, such part of Mr. Middleton's and Colonel Champion's correspondence, as related to the conduct of public affairs; but as some of the Letters might contain things, in the course of a free and personal communication, which might not be proper for a public record, he begged leave to decline laying the whole of them before us.

On this refusal, a formal protest was entered against it, by General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. Mr. Monson then moved for the recall of Mr. Middleton; and it was determined by the same Majority, that he should be

HERE was started curious matter for disputation. The heads of the Majority were already loaded with suspicions and combustible ideas; and this withholding of parts of the correspondence, set fire to the train laid by their Minister, and blazed out into a flame, that has not yet been extinguished. The Majority and their party, declared that the parts of the correspondence which was not given up, contained criminal matter. The Governor, piqued at the ungenerous and violent proceedings of the Majority, and conscious of his own innocence, would not comply. The young gentleman was recalled; and the matter was referred home to the Company, who condemned the Governor, and ordered the whole of the original Letters to be delivered up on both sides, which was done, and found to contain nothing public or criminal. This affair gave rise to such another dispute as that about Mahommed Reza Cawn, and you have handled it at your Committee in the same

be recalled, and ordered to repair to the Presidency, bringing with him the whole of his correspondence during his residence at the court of the Vizier. At the same time it was resolved to appoint Colonel Champion, or the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, to treat with the Vizier in his room. Against both these resolutions, the Governor General protested, and Mr Barwell also dissented from them

(Signed) "

J CLAVERING,

GEO MONSON,

P FRANCIS'

uncandid

uncandid manner. Not the least notice is taken of the conduct of the Majority, in removing Mr. Middleton, and sending Mr. Bristow to Oude, and thereby rendering the Governor General insignificant in the eyes of the country powers: No; that would have been candid, and given truth fair play, to avoid which, you take the story up much later in point of time, and endeavour to fix criminality on the Governor General for removing Mr. Bristow from the very spot to which he had been sent by the Majority, to lessen him in the eyes of the Country Powers. Such conduct might have been expected from the Chairman of your Committee, who was never heard of as an orator, except as a speaking member of a city club, or wrangling Proprietor of India Stock at a general court, where he studied his poverty of eloquence, until chance threw him into the Committee's Chair: But believe me, Sir, it is beneath the character of the all accomplished Mr. Burke.

I will give you an instance in point. The Prime Minister of this Country, must have a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who will attend to his mandates, or things in Ireland will go wrong. Lord North thought so, when he sent Lord Carlisle to Dublin Castle. You thought so, when you joined in the opinion to send the Duke of Portland there. And Lord Shelburne thought so, when he recommended a successor to the Noble Duke. It is,

Sir,

Sir, one of those political truths, that every dabbler agrees in. . And believe me, a Governor General of Bengal, must, and will have a confidential friend of his own, for his Lieutenant at Oude, or the Princes of the Country will place no confidence in him. It is now five years since the various fluctuating powers of this country, at both ends of the town, have, from a mere spirit of party, destructive of all true policy, and the real interest of the Company and the Nation, been attempting to lower their Governor General in the eyes of all Asia, by forcing on him Mr. Bristow for his Resident at Oude, contrary to all his unanswerable objections. He has no enmity to the young man ; that all Mr. Bristow's friends know ; but if the Governor submits to his being placed there so independent of him, as the orders from home require; after so long and so injudicious a struggle to compel him to it from this side the water, he will cease to be worthy the confidence of the Nation and the Company, as their Governor General of Bengal.

It is very possible, Sir, that besides the Members of your Committee, and a very bare majority in the Court of Directors, there may be found people who may think, that the Naib Subah of the Provinces in Bengal, and the Resident at the Court of Oude, should be appointments in the disposal only of the Court of Directors. I shall not dis-

pute their right to give away every appointment in the Company's service, at home and abroad ; if it was not so, they would not be Directors ; but the two instances at present agitated, do not turn on their power or their right ; these are indisputable ; and I wish the whole Court felt as sore, at the improper interposition of ministerial influence, as I do, their affairs abroad would then soon be restored to their former splendor. Had the Court of Directors read, with minds free from prejudice, the reasonings of Mr. Hastings, for not giving power to Mahommed Reza Cawn, sending Mr. Bristow to Oude, and Mr. Fowke, Jun. to Benares, it is not possible that certain orders lately sent to Bengal, could have been dictated. It was no quarrel of theirs. The Majority had appointed the gentlemen above mentioned to their several stations, openly avowing, that it was done to shew the Country Powers, that Mr. Hastings, with the high sounding title of Governor General of Asia, had, in fact, no power ; and it was so generally believed all over Hindoostan, that Mr. Hastings, on the demise of Colonel Monson, so far back as 1776, was obliged to replace the same Company's servants, in order to recover in the opinion of the Asiatic Princes, the credit due to his station. From that hour to this, hath the impolitic interposition of the Court of Directors, kept alive a paltry party dispute, originating at Bengal, whether Mr. Middleton or Mr. Bristow, should

Should be the Company's Resident at Oude ; whether Mr. Fowke, Mr. Graham, or Mr. Markham, shall act as Agent at Benares ; and whether Mahomed Reza Cawn shall have improper power annexed to his nominal station of Naib Subah of Bengal, or not. The parties in whose favour this party contest has been kept alive, that is Messrs. Middleton, Bristow, Fowke, Graham, Markham, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, are all men trained in the Company's service. To their abilities and integrity, no party have made the least objection. The whole matter turns on this ; whilst the agents of Mr. Hastings's nomination, reside at the different Princes' courts, they have confidence in him ; when the young men are sent there, who were appointed by the Majority, the Governor General's credit sinks to nothing. I would ask any reasonable man, whether it can be for the interest of the Company, that the Directors continue annually to make a point of matters, in themselves so insignificant to their service in general, and so degrading to their Governor General in particular ? What is it to that commercial body, which of their younger servants act as their agents at Oude and Benares ? Or who can possibly be so good a judge of the abilities and integrity of the under graduates in their service, as the Governor who employs them ? To him they look for an account of the general state of their affairs, financial and political ; on the judicious management of which,

which, not only depend their mercantile interests, but their existence as an Asiatic power. If they lose their territory, their commerce can no longer exist. The Council General are their political managers, the Board of Trade their mercantile. War and conquest have made the first necessary; and the closer the latter are tied down to first principles, the better. But the shuttle will now no longer move, if the sword be withdrawn. I would desire no stronger proof of the necessity of harmony in the conducting of their affairs abroad, than what has lately appeared. From 1774 to 1780, Mr. Francis and his friends, opposed every measure of the Governor General's in every department of government, and also kept alive a party in this country, at both ends of the town, and that by a series of the most false and uncharitable representations of facts, that ever were invented against Mr. Hastings's honour as a man, every one of which have been refuted, and exposed to the dishonour of the dead, and the disgrace of the living. But no sooner had Mr. Francis left India, than cordiality took place in the Council General, the good effects of which have lately been made known to the nation, and that at a moment of time, when the Directors were devising his recall, grounded on reasons which have no foundation in truth, to make

make way for a new set of men, totally unversed in the affairs of Asia.

I BELIEVE you will admit, that in candour, the Committee should have done as I have done, and gone back to the original cause of the removal of Mahommed Reza Cawn and Mr. Bristow, as they deemed such trifling affairs worth the notice of the Senate; but once dipp'd into personal politics, they know not where to stop; and a dismal account is introduced into the House, in your sixth Report, charging the Governor General with having violated the rules of the Company's service, in appointing one of his Aid-du-Camps, and particular Agent, Captain John Scott, a nominal Major, greatly out of his turn, to the prejudice of I know not how many officers, his seniors in the service. This fact is not only denied, but also proved to have been erroneously stated, and wrongfully represented to the House of Commons. Your Chairman has been called upon publickly and privately, to support the assertions contained in the Report, which hitherto he has declined to do. Perhaps he thinks that his senatorial dignity places him out of the reach of private censure, for having patronized a representation of circumstances not true in fact, and that we shall see him on the meeting of the Parliament, once more stand up in his place, and declare himself invulnerable to the shafts of envy and calumny.

Before he ventures to do it, I wish him calmly to peruse this Preface, and the accompanying Third Letter, to you ; it may be of use to his memory ; and he may depend on it, that I will take particular care, that every Member of both Houses shall be furnished with a copy, in order to enable them to judge what degree of credit is due to the General's declaration of his innocence and his patriotism.

I HAVE been beyond measure astonished at the modesty of the noble General, in trifling with the time of the House, by bringing forward the frivolous accusation against Mr. Hastings, of his having made his Aid-du-Camp, Captain John Scott, a Brevet Major, as it inevitably leads back the mind to a similar favour granted some years past, by the General's influence, to his own brother, Captain John Smith. In the name of goodness, what could induce your Chairman to disgust the feelings of every man, who knew the conduct and character of his near relation, by dragging back to our memories the idea of a man, long since fallen into fortunate oblivion ? Major John Smith possessed every frailty and folly of his brother in the highest extreme. If there are virtues in the family, heaven and earth knows how few of them came to his share ! But he has many years ceased to be a load to himself, disgusting to society, and an expence to the Company ; and nothing

nothing but the fraternal feelings of so excellent a brother, could have given cause to have it remembered that such a being ever existed.

AN elegant writer, under the signature of *Detector*, in the *Morning Herald*, having examined and explained the conduct of the Committee, in a very masterly manner, has put an end to my labours. What are we to think of the efficacy of national investigations so partially conducted? If any man will be at the trouble of reading your share in those curious compositions, and at the same time attend to the undeniable facts which *Detector* hath opposed to your eloquent surmises, and very ungenerous insinuations, it will enable him to form a judgment of the uncommon injuries which have been done to the public and private character of the Governor General of Bengal, in the several parts of the five last Reports. After all, there are few men to whom Mr. Hastings has been more obliged, than to you and your Committee. The extraordinary Vote which some how or other was obtained in the House of Commons, for his recall, brought forward an investigation into the matter in *Leadenhall Street*. The Proprietors of *India Stock* are his legal and proper masters: they have tried him, Sir, fairly, and he has been honourably acquitted. After that, what can he have to fear from the tellers of *Nursery tales*? The honourable General was so pleased

with his master's story of the *Little Red Riding Hood*, - that he imitated it in his way, and gave us one of an Eunuch, and an Old Woman at the India House. Persons who despise the man, pitied the mimic orator. The silent contempt in which it was received, ought to seal up his mouth for ever; and in compassion to him, Sir, you should say, "Cousin Smith, you never can be an orator."

I MUST now leave you to my Third Letter, which I hope will have some influence on your mind, when you shall find by it, how egregiously you have been duped by the enemies of Mr. Hastings, in spending so much of your precious time, in compiling Reports from a Committee, originally intended to furnish the national Senate with information on Asiatic affairs, and not inflammatory observations on the conduct of a party. When you, your Chairman, or the man of whose evidence you have shewn so much grace as to be ashamed to give to the public, shall think proper to dispute the facts in the following Letter, you may chance to hear again from your old correspondent and

Humble Servant,

The A U T H O R.

A

THIRD LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

ALTHOUGH I have already addressed Two Letters to you, on the subject of the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, such have been the industry and indefatigable application of yourself, the honourable Chairman, and his brother Members, in obtaining what they think new evidence, in support of what all the world have been convinced was no evidence at all, that I am compelled to trouble you once more, to shew, that this last evidence of Mr. Goring, is absolutely worse than Captain Cowe's

Cowe's no evidence: and what is singularly fortunate, every step which has been taken to prejudice the public against Governor General Hastings, hath operated quite differently to what his enemies intended. His character, like sterling gold committed to the crucible, comes out purer than when first submitted to the fire.

WHEN, in 1773, the King's Ministers interposed, with the declared purpose of relieving the East India Company from their distresses, which had most evidently been brought on by the same Ministry having compelled them some years before, to pay government 400,000*l.* per annum, and which, in its consequences, drove them into a temporary bankruptcy, the very same means were then used, which have lately been used, to enrage the minds of the people against the characters of all the Company's servants abroad, and involve them indiscriminately in one general ruin. It is, perhaps, one of the most singular circumstances to be met with in the records of time, that a man so situated, and so circumstanced, as Governor General Hastings has been, and now is, should be able to support himself against such violent, personal, and general attacks, as have been, and are now making on his conduct and character.

I WILL honestly confess, that it is not from any particular regard or respect which I have for your character, that induces me to address my Letters to you: as one of my most gracious Sovereign's honourable Privy Council, I sincerely hope that you are an upright and honest man; but I am too old to take mere professions of sanctity for pure religion, or flowery oratory for true patriotism: I look to general tenor of conduct to frame my conclusions on the characters of men: and if Sir George Saville himself, was to give up the cause of an honest man, in mere compliance to the passions of a party, highly as I now revere the character of that genuine Englishman, I would never after touch my hat to him. It is not sufficient that a man hath lived, he must also die a patriot. Had Cato trimmed to the times, as Bolingbroke has said he ought to have done, and followed the chariot wheels of Cæsar, his memory would have been held in as much detestation by posterity, as is that of the Author of the Letters on Patriotism. He, Sir, like you, preached a doctrine which he never practised. When I read your works, I admire both: 'when I advert to your conduct, there are few characters, living or dead, for whom I feel less respect. Men who violently pursue, from the spirit of party, an innocent individual, are false patriots. Hastings and Cootz have saved the nation in the east, and

Rodney

Rodney, retrieved her honour in the west, and brawling patriots vent their spleen against them.

IN 1772, Select and Secret Committees were appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the then state of the East India Company's affairs. In the same year Mr. Hastings was, by the Company, sent from Madras to Bengal, to take charge of the government. Every one of his measures from that period, to the latter end of 1774, were not only highly approved, but much commended by the Court of Directors, to whom alone he was then accountable. If, in the severe investigation of both Committees of the House of Commons, during the years 1772 and 1773, any criminal matter did appear against Governor Hastings, nothing of it is to be found on the face of the Reports; and as a proof that nothing was found, the legislative powers of his country thought proper, in 1773, to confirm him in the government of Bengal for five years longer. If any thing can establish a man's character for honour and integrity, in the service of the East India Company, Mr. Hastings's character was so established, when the Regulating Act of the 13th of George the Third, received the royal assent, which was to be in force at Bengal, on the first day of August, 1774.

At the above period, Mr. Hastings had been in the Company's service twenty-four years, in the government of Bengal nearly three years, by the appointment, and with the approbation, of the Court of Proprietors, and of the Directors; and by the Regulating Act, he was re-appointed and confirmed in the government of all India, for five years more. This new appointment was with the consent and approbation of the whole kingdom, for this plain reason, that whatever peculations or mismanagements had been brought home against other of the Company's servants, all parties and denominations of men agreed, that Mr. Hastings's character stood unimpeached, in Leadenhall-Street, and in the Reports of the Committees. His application to business, and his abilities for conducting it, were equally and universally acknowledged by all denominations of men.

SUCH was the established and universally allowed character of Mr. Hastings, when he was appointed Governor General of the national possessions in Asia in 1774. I will, Sir, with your permission, go into an investigation of the matter now laid to his charge, and state clearly and fairly, on what foundation it rests, give the characters of the men who first began the now furious attack against his moral and political honour, and shew to the world on what grounds the present outcry has been raised, in what manner it has been supported

ported, and what are the views of the present Managers, in persevering with such unwearied assiduity, in the removal of Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal.

You are, Sir, better acquainted with the private intentions of Ministers of State than I am; their openly avowed principles of action is all I have to go by; and I do assure you, Sir, that the Ministers of 1773, declared publickly, that they wished to support Governor General Hastings in his measures and plans for regulating the national concerns in Bengal; and in order to put it out of the power of that fluctuating body of men, the Court of Directors for the East India Company's affairs, to remove him, on any change of politics in Leadenhall-Street, they gave him the sanction of a national appointment for five years, not to be removed but by an address from the united body of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, framed at the request of a majority of the Proprietors, and a majority of the Court of Directors, to the King in Council, for that express purpose. Here, Sir, their declarations and public acts confirm one another, and force conviction on the mind, that they really meant what they said: and the same Ministry have further confirmed what they then enacted; for in the first Sessions of the fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain, that is last summer, when an Act was passed to continue to the

the East India Company, their Asiatic possessions, for the further term of ten years, the name of Warren Hastings, Esq. is further inserted to fill the office of Governor General, with the approbation of the East India Company, and, as I remember, without one single objection to the clause so framed for his continuance in the government, being started in the House of Lords, or House of Commons.

A SIMPLE plain man, such as I am, not conversant in the secrets of state, is apt to conclude, that such continual and repeated approbation of a man's own immediate masters, confirmed by the legislative and executive powers of the state, would be sufficient to establish his character for honour, ability, and integrity; and was I an independent Proprietor of Stock, or impartial Member of Parliament, I would not vote a man from so responsible a station, without being first convinced that he had acted in some shape or way, inconsistent with his duty, or derogatory to his honour. What a vast portion of [private spleen must that man possess, whose revenge is not to be satisfied, but with the removal and disgrace of such men as Hastings, Coote, and Rodney, at a time the national honour requires their continuance in office?

IN the midst of all our party squabbles, I thank God, there are numbers of very respectable characters

racers in the nation, whose love of truth causes them to revolt at the very idea of acting as panders to the gratification of private passion; that will not be influenced by uncertain evidence, or vote the disgrace of a man unheard in his defence, because the Chairman of a Committee, or one or two other of the Members, wish to return to India; To such Members of the British Senate, and such Proprietors of India Stock, I write; nor have I a doubt but that I shall convince them, and all impartial men, that the present attack on the Governor General, was commenced in India from the spirit of party, and has been taken up here on the same principle, and leads only to the gratification of the private spleen of a few individuals, and the lucrative views of a few more.

THERE is nothing gives me more pleasure, than when I find that I agree in any political point, essential to the general good, with so popular a character as that of Mr. Edmund Burke: but such is the nature and complexion of modern patriotism, that tenets seem to change with books, and principles with times. I mean, Sir, your tenets and your principles: the Proprietor of East India Stock, at least, if not part of the Patriot, seems to have been lost in the Minister of State; otherwise how shall we reconcile present proceedings with past doctrines? No man will refuse a quotation from the works of Edmund Burke, and I

am always happy to support my own opinion by so good authority. That the compelling the East India Company to pay the sum of 400,000*l.* per annum to government, was a thing I complained of much, at that time, though you was not a Proprietor, you, Sir, did not approve of it, as may be seen from the following quotation from a very favourite work of yours, which I took notice of in my First Letter to you, and may very possibly mention again before I close my Third.

In your Observations on a late State of the Nation, printed by J. Dodsley, in Pall-mall, the fourth edition, page 88 to page 93, you reason thus:

‘ It is true the author, in his estimate of ways and means, takes credit for 400,000*l.* a year, ‘ *Indian revenue*; but he will not very positively ‘ insist, that we should put this revenue to the account of his plans or his power, and for a plain reason; we are already near two years in possession of it: by what means we came to that possession, is a pretty long story: however, I shall give nothing more than a short abstract of the proceeding, in order to see whether the author will take to himself any part in that measure.

‘ THE fact is this: the East India Company had for a good while solicited the Ministry for a negotiation, by which they proposed to pay largely

largely for some advantages in their trade, and
 for the renewal of their charter. This had been
 the former method of transacting with that body.
 Government having only leased the monopoly
 for short terms, the Company has been obliged
 to resort to it frequently for renewals. These
 two parties have always negotiated (on the true
 principle of credit) not as government and sub-
 ject, but as equal dealers, on the footing of mu-
 tual advantage. The public had derived great
 benefit from such dealing. But at that time new
 ideas prevailed : The Ministry, instead of listen-
 ing to the proposals of the Company, chose to set
 up a claim of the Crown to their possessions. The
 original plan seems to have been, to get the
 House of Commons to compliment the Crown
 with a sort of judicial declaration of a title to
 the Company's acquisitions in India, which the
 Crown, on its part, with the best air in the world,
 was to bestow upon the public. Then it would
 come to the turn of the House of Commons
 again to be liberal and grateful to the Crown.
 The civil list debts were to be paid off, with,
 perhaps, a pretty augmentation of income. All
 this was to be done on the most public spirited
 principles, and with a politeness and mutual in-
 terchange of good offices, that could not but
 have charmed. But what was best of all, these
 civilities were to be without a farthing of charge
 to either of the kind and obliging parties. The

• East India Company was to be covered with infamy and disgrace, and at the same time was to pay the whole bill.

* In consequence of this scheme, the terrors of a parliamentary enquiry were hung over them. A judicature was asserted in Parliament to try this question. But least this judicial character should chance to inspire certain stubborn ideas of law and right, it was argued, that the judicature was arbitrary, and ought not to determine by the rules of law, but by their opinion of policy and expedience. Nothing exceeded the violence of some of the managers, except their impotence. They were bewildered by their passions, and by their want of knowledge, or want of consideration of the subject. The more they advanced, the further they found themselves from their object. All things ran into confusion. The Ministers quarrelled among themselves ; they disclaimed one another ; they suspended violence, and shrank from the treaty. The enquiry was almost at its last gasp, when some active persons of the Company were given to understand, that this hostile proceeding was only set up *in terrorem* ; that government was far from an intention of seizing upon the possessions of the Company. Administration, they said, was sensible that the idea was in every light full of absurdity ; and that such a seizure was not more out of their power,

power, than remote from their wishes; and therefore, if the Company would come in a liberal manner to the House, they certainly could not fail of putting a speedy end to this disagreeable business, and of opening the way to an advantageous treaty.

On this hint the Company acted: they came at once to a resolution of getting rid of the difficulties which arose from the complication of their trade with their revenue; a step which despoiled them of their best defensive armour, and put them at once into the power of administration. They threw their whole stock of every kind, the revenue, the trade, and even their debt from government, into one fund, which they computed on the surest grounds, would amount to 800,000l. with a large probable surplus for the payment of debt. Then they agreed to divide this sum in equal portions, between themselves and the public, 400,000l. to each. This gave to the Proprietors of that Fund, an annual augmentation of no more than 80,000l. dividend. They ought to receive from government 120,000l. for the loan of their capital. So that in fact, the whole which on this plan they reserved to themselves, from their vast revenues, from their extensive trade, and in consideration of the great risks and mighty expences which pursued these advantages, amounted to no more than

than 280,000/ whilst government was to receive,
as I said, 400,000/.

‘ This proposal was thought by themselves
‘ liberal indeed, and they expected the highest ap-
‘ plause for it However, their reception was
‘ very different from their expectations When
‘ they brought up their plan to the House of Com-
‘ mons, the offer, as it was natural, of 400,000/
‘ was very well relished, but nothing could be
‘ more disgusting than the 80,000/ which the
‘ Company had divided amongst themselves A
‘ violent tempest of public indignation and fury
‘ rose against them The heads of the people
‘ turned The Company was held well able to pay
‘ 400,000/ a year to government, but bankrupts,
‘ if they attempted to divide the fifth part of it
‘ among themselves An *ex post facto* law was
‘ brought in with great precipitation, for annul-
‘ ling this dividend In the bill was inserted a
‘ clause, which suspended for about a year, the
‘ right which, under the public faith, the Com-
‘ pany enjoyed of making their own dividends.
‘ Such was the disposition and temper of the
‘ House, that although the plain face of facts,
‘ reason, wisdom, all the authority, parts, and
‘ eloquence in the kingdom, were against this
‘ bill, though all the Chancellors of the Ex-
‘ chequer, who held that office from the begin-
‘ ning of this reign, opposed it, yet a few place

' men of the subordinate departments, sprung out
 ' of their ranks, took the lead, and by an opinion
 ' of some sort of secret support, carried the bill with
 ' an high hand, leaving the then Secretary of
 ' State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 ' in a very moderate Minority. In this distracted
 ' situation, the managers of the bill, notwith-
 ' standing their triumph, did not venture to pro-
 ' pose the payment of the civil list debt. The
 ' Chancellor of the Exchequer was not in good
 ' humour enough, after his late defeat by his
 ' own troops, to co-operate in such a design. So
 ' they made an act to lock up the money in the
 ' Exchequer, until they should have time to look
 ' about them, and settle among themselves what
 ' they were to do with it.

' Thus ended this unparalleled transaction.
 ' The author, I believe, will not claim any part
 ' of the glory in it; he will leave it whole and
 ' entire to the authors of the measure. The mo-
 ' ney was the voluntary free gift of the Company;
 ' the rescinding bill was the act of the legislature,
 ' to which they and we owe submission: the au-
 ' thor has nothing to do with the one or with the
 ' other. However, he cannot avoid rubbing him-
 ' self against this subject, merely for the pleasure
 ' of stirring controversies, and gratifying a certain
 ' prurienty of taxation that seems to infect his
 ' blood. It is merely to indulge himself in spe-
 ' culations

culations of taxing, that he chooses to hazard on this subject. For he takes credit for no greater sum than the public is already in possession of. He does not hint that the Company means, or has ever shewn any disposition, if managed with common prudence, to pay less in future, and he cannot doubt that the present Ministry are as well inclined to drive them, by their mock enquiries, and real rescinding bills, as he can possibly be with his taxes. Besides, it is obvious, that as great a sum might have been drawn from that Company, without affecting property, or shaking the constitution, or endangering the principles of public credit, or running into his golden dreams of cockets on the Ganges, or visions of stamp duties on *Purzarras, Dus-ticks, Kistb-urdees and Huslu'kookums*. For once, I will disappoint him in this part of the dispute, and only, in a very few words, recommend to his consideration, how he is to get off the dangerous ideas of taxing a public fund, if he levies those dues in England, and if he is to levy them in India, what provision has he made for a revenue establishment there, supposing that he undertakes this new scheme of finance independently of the Company, and against its inclinations?

IT IS impossible for me, Sir, to read your observations or *recherches*, without advertsing to

some enquiries now on foot. Mr. Goring, in the month of May, is brought to affirm what you declared to be self evident in the month of February, viz. the political execution of the Rajah Nund-comar; for proof of whjch, you, in the most solemn and serious manner, refer the House and the Nation back to the evidence of Captain Cowe in the first Report. To Captain Cowe's evidence we go, Sir, by your express desire, and find that it is no evidence at all. To tell us now, that Mr. Goring, or any other man, can prove what was *not* true in February last, though the fact alluded to was of seven years standing, is at best but bringing an Irish *Bull* to cover your English Cowe. Believe me, the more you labour that unlucky point, the more you will find yourself bewildered. In Bengal, Mr. C. W. B. Rouse, Mr. Philip Francis, Mr. Farrer, the lawyer, Captain Cowe, and a few others, said that it was a political measure. The then Majority of the civil government, went great lengths to endeavour to prove it on the spot, with no better success than you seem to have had here. A great traveller, one Macintosh, has had instructions to affirm the same fact, with which your honourable Committee have so long amused themselves, and has been told in direct terms, by one Joseph Price, that he has been guilty of uttering nine different falsehoods on that subject only; and I have been credibly informed, that the same Price declares, that Mr. Macintosh has been employed

ployed by one of the same men who employed Mr. Goring, so much to his honour, at Bengal.

However that may be, the *mock enquiries* (as you call them) did take place in 1772, and furnished the pretext for the Regulating Act on India affairs in 1774. The Minister publickly declared, that his intention was to support Governor Hastings in his government. When the private instructions given to General *Clavering*, Colonel *Monson*, and Mr. *Philip Francis*, were, I do not know; but most certainly their conduct was very different, not only to the declarations of the Ministry, but also to their own. I have proved this fact in my First Letter; nor shall I detain you longer here than just to observe, that notwithstanding all their professions and all their promises, they shewed at the very first meeting of council, a fixed determination to govern the country, not only without the participation or advice of Mr. Hastings, but also gave countenance to every vile informer in the country, to bring in complaint against him: no matter what it was, or how obtained, the more infamous the better. Every day produced something new; and the Company's records were stuffed with charges in abundance; but not a single proof has been produced, from that hour to this, of any of them. The cause has lately been transferred from that country to this; and it is with no less indignation than contempt, that I observe

observe that some of the very same men have been employed to play over again, their parts in the second exhibition of that most infamous farce,

YOUR friend, Mr. Francis, Sir, is something more in my opinion, than what he stiled himself, *the fifth part of a King*; he is, at least, the third part of a *Prolet*; for in the space of a month, a *very little month*, after his arrival at Bengal, the Majority tell the Company, in one Letter, dated November 21st, 1774, just twenty five days after their first meeting in council, that ' the short time ' which has elapsed since our arrival here, has been ' so *readily engrossed* by the first forms and multi- ' plicity of instant business, that it has not been ' possible for us to possess ourselves of any other ' particu'lar knowledge of the internal state of ' those provinces, than that which your Governor ' General has been pleased to communicate to ' us.'

HOWEVER, in nine days after the above decla-
ration, they acquire knowledge enough to con-
cern in the fury, the whole conduct of the
preceding administration, and foretel, that a
very parliamentary inquisition would one day take
place. It has happened as they foretold, and re-
sulted in no less than a tribunal for enquiry,
evidence of any kind is brought forward. Even

the whimsies of a *Cowe*, the assertions of a *Francis*, or the depositions of a *Gering*, are admitted against a man to whom they hold declared enmity. Are such proceedings calculated to convince or to impose on the understandings of the public? The treatment of Sir Thomas Rumbold is perfect moderation to this. Yet such conduct is to pave the way for my little Cutcherry Hero to obtain a seat in the Supreme Council at Bengal, the Chairman of the Committee to command the army, and you, Sir, or some other great man, (for Philip Francis, I find, is thrown out,) to become Governor General of Bengal.— But to their letter: be pleased to observe, that it is dated a month after the Majority possessed themselves of the government of Bengal. On the 21st of November, 1774, they know nothing but what the Governor General told them; on the 30th of the same month, in the same year, they knew every thing; as appears from the following Letter to the Court of Directors.

Letter from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis.

* Fort William, November 30th, 1774.

* GENERAL Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis; lay before the Council the following Address to the Court of Directors, which they had drawn up in the shape of a Letter, and which

“ which they desire may be upon record as a minute from them.

“ It touches them with the highest concern, to see
 “ that things are reduced to so unfortunate a situation, that a justification of their conduct must
 “ of necessity carry with it, and can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of the
 “ preceding administration. They would not have
 “ sacrificed, as they have done, their own happiness and peace of mind, to so painful and laborious a discussion, if they had not been *thoroughly convinced*, that the questions agitated in
 “ the following address to the Court of Directors, affect the very vitals of this state, and that, sooner or later, they must be the subject of a severe parliamentary *inquisition*.

“ The whole of these papers, as they apprehend, must, in obedience to the Act of Parliament, be transmitted by the Court of Directors to one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State.

(Signed) ‘ J. CLAVERING,
 ‘ GEO. MONSON,
 ‘ P. FRANCIS.”

The above Letter was sent home to the Court of Directors and to the Ministry, as a kind of declaration

claration of war against the Governor General, and the whole of the former administration. In it they declare, that there was no way to vindicate themselves (though in the government but a month) but by a pointed condemnation of their predecessors and colleagues in the government. Volumes of charges were collected and sent home in every ship, but not one single proof could be found. Seven years afterwards, their bold assertions are once more obtruded on the world in anonymous pamphlets, lying travails, and in references to reports for evidence, which, on examination, contain no evidence, but such as convinces every honest man of its absurdity. The prejudices raised against the Indians, by the Reports of the Secret and Select Committees in 1773, encouraged General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, to commence the attack against the Governor General at Bengal, in 1774: and now the supposed crimes of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his brethren at Madras, furnish a plea for rallying the scattered forces of the party to begin the game anew, and they set out with the following paragraphs in the second Report of the Select Committee, said, Sir, to have been drawn up by yourself, as penman for the Committee, who kindly undertook to prepare the information necessary for the House to act on.

' The circumstance which brings this omission
 ' home to the point at present under the observa-
 ' tion of your Committee, is this, 'that the Rajah,
 ' thus denied a respite, was, 'at the very time of
 ' his apprehension, under the protection of the
 ' Council, in the midst of his evidence against
 ' Mr. Hastings, the Governor General, on a charge
 ' of peculation and abuse of his office, in taking
 ' money from the natives.

' Your Committee has received it in evidence,
 ' that this trial and execution was looked upon by
 ' many of the natives as political; nor does the
 ' Committee conceive it possible, that, combining
 ' all the circumstances together, they should look
 ' upon it in the light of a common judicial pro-
 ' ceeding, but must regard it as a politic mea-
 ' sure, the tendency of which is, to make the na-
 ' tives feel the extreme hazard of accusing, or even
 ' giving evidence of corrupt practices against any
 ' British subject in station, even though supported
 ' by other British subjects of equal rank and au-
 ' thority. It will be rather a mockery than a re-
 ' lief to the natives, to see channels of justice
 ' opened to them, at their great charge, both in
 ' the institution and in the use, and these appeals,
 ' still more expensive, carefully provided for them,
 ' when, at the same time, practices are coun-
 ' nanced, which render the resort to those remedies
 ' far

' far more dangerous, than a patient endurance of oppression under which they may labour.'

How extremely unlucky you have been in your references back to your first Report, for evidence to support your conclusions in your second, I have shewn so plainly in my Second Letter to you on that subject, that it has induced you once more to change your ground. Unwilling to give up your favourite idea, that the greatest villain the world ever saw, was put to death unjustly, you have called up Mr. Goring, a man whose whole tenor of conduct hath branded his name with such a degree of infamy, that no length of time can palliate or wash it out.

Mr. Charles Goring went out a writer in the East India Company's service to Bengal, in 1763. He was, soon after his arrival, employed at a factory near Cossimbazar, to provide raw silk for the Company. During the time of his residence in that station, heavy complaints were made of the sufferings and hardships under which the Company's silk-winders groaned in some parts of the kingdom: most dismal stories were propagated, not only in Calcutta, but also in this country, tending to prove, that numbers of the silk-winders had left Bengal, rather than work longer at Rungpoor Beauliauh and Malda, two of the Company's silk factories. Some of the poor wretches

wretches were said to have cut off their thumbs, and thereby disabled themselves from being any longer enrolled on the list of the Company's felic winders. This raised so general a detestation against the authors of such inhuman cruelty, that nobody would have intercourse with the perpetrators. I do not say who they were; but I know that when Mr. Goring came down to Calcutta in the year 1767, no man of credit or character in Calcutta, would keep company with him. He left the settlement, and returned to Europe, with a very capital fortune, even before his apprenticeship as a writer was out. I make no doubt but he can account for the means he used to obtain so large a fortune in so short a time. I have nothing to do with that; I am only about to inform you how he came to turn patriot—Qualifid you, Sir, no doubt, will admit him to be, even from the above sketch of his character only:—But hear further.

Mr. Goring returned to India in the latter end of 1773, or beginning of 1774, and strolled about Calcutta like a foreigner amongst his own countrymen, for nobody would know him—You will guess the cause without my help—And you know, Sir, that revolutions in government change the face of affairs so completely that (to use a hotely proverb) *every dog has his day*. The plan of operations adopted by General Clavering, Colonel

nel *Monson*, and Mr. *Francis*, suited exactly with the talents and principles of Mr. *Goring*, and he was soon employed in an important station of trust and confidence, to which his genius was in a peculiar manner excellently adapted. Some few difficulties arose in the *etiquette*. Few men would hold converse with this worthy man, and yet fewer be seen or known to act with him. If he was bid to a convivial meal, at the house of one of his *honourable employers*, the party was small indeed; for even men who, on similar principles, wished well to the cause, would go without a dinner, rather than foul a plate in company with him. And this general disgust to the man, produced some curious situations at the great mens houses, insomuch, that when they wished to benefit from his intelligence, or enjoy his company, it was in the *tete à-tete* way; for the least creditable of their other friends, thought themselves disgraced by being in his company.

WHEN his dispatches were ready, to the *Nabob's* palace, at the city, he went, armed with powers, such as no honest principle of action could justify the giving. But the Majority had committed themselves too deeply to retreat. A man more proper for the execution of such diabolical orders, was not to be found in the Company's service. Even *James Grant*, one of the Commissioners employed to examine such papers as Mr. *Goring* might

might seize by violence, had yet so much sense of feeling left, as to refuse to be joined in the commission with him: and that universal reluctance which all men shewed to act in any manner or shape with such a man, induced the necessity of a double commission, one to seize the papers, and another to examine them.

Just at the time when the commission was given to *Goring*, a discovery was made in Calcutta, that under the direction of the *Son-in-Law to Rajab Nundcomar*, a conspiracy was formed against two or three of the members of the former administration, which was afterwards proved against him and associates, in open court. Yet, at this trial, the whole Majority of the civil government appeared to claim the privilege of an Ambassador for one of the culprits. An Ambassador from the Nabab *Mah Barick ul Dowlab*, at Cossimbazar, to the Representatives of the East India Company in Calcutta; yet, at the very same instant of time, those very Representatives (the Majority) had given to Mr. *Goring* a commission to enter the secret apartments of that very *Nabob*, not with a general warrant, but with a military force, and seize on all the state papers of this Sovereign, whom the Majority were endeavouring to prove, in the King's Court of Judicature at Calcutta, to be an Independent Prince. With what strength of argument, honest principle

ciple of action, or consistency of conduct, I shall leave you, Sir, to determine.

Mr. Goring proceeded to execute his orders with a violence and inhumanity, which confirmed every man in Bengal, in their opinion of his true stamp of character. All the Nabob's papers were seized: his Mother, the Regent of the Kingdom, during the minority of this great and independent *Prince*, was treated with a degree of severity, which only such a man as the Commissioner could be capable of executing. There are certain lines of rectitude which are never crossed by man or woman, whilst even the appearance of honour or virtue is left them; that line once passed, no wild beast of the forest can equal man or woman in their barbarous treatment of one another. Religion, laws, and customs, no longer bind the violator, whether Jew, Christian, Turk, or Infidel, by profession. the savage man appears in all his devilish and corrupt deformity. No intreaties, no prayers, no regard to rank, to age, to sex, had any influence on the mind of our well chosen agent. The Nabob's Mother, though Regent of the Kingdom by the East India Company's own appointment, was driven out of her own palace, no place so sacred but what was ransacked, and every indulgence refused her, except she would perjure herself, in giving false charges against the Governor General of Bengal.

Ms.

Mr. Goring's orders extended not to the bringing the papers he might seize away, but to submit them to the inspection of Messrs. Anderson, Maxwell, and Grant, who had orders to examine them for matters of crimination against the Governor General, or any of the members of the former administration. The result of their enquiries you shall see presently. I shall first dispatch this new evidence of the Committee.

BEFORE Mr. Goring returned to Calcutta, Colonel Monson (who had become very much ashamed of some violences which the spirit of party had hurried them into) had been let into the real character of their Cossimbazar Commissioner, and in consequence received him very coolly. In short, he discouraged him so very much, that he never dared to produce the papers which he had, contrary to orders, brought away with him from the Begum's house; and this, Sir, you may depend on it, was the real reason of his having secreted them. The Select Committee having outrun themselves a little, (by whose fault you best know,) and more evidence being wanting to keep up the cry against the Governor General, until certain political arrangements should take place, induced your friend, the Bengal Cutcherry Hero, to send for Mr. Goring; and he produced the *honestly procured papers*. The means he used to come at them, and the purpose to which

he intended to apply them, made his friends, the Majority, so much ashamed of him, that he was avoided at Bengal like a pest. Whenever he came into any house at Calcutta, every stranger, man and woman, instantly got up and left the company ; and this became so general a custom, that he found it necessary to feign sickness, and go to Madras, from whence he, and two more of the gang, proceeded to Europe. Such, Sir, is a concise account of the history and character of the man, to whom you have applied to support the limping evidence of Captain *Coue*.

I AM, Sir, so very fond of good painting, and true patriotism, that I propose to publish my three Letters to you by subscription, to raise a sum to give to Sir Joshua Reynolds, to draw me an oval table, and fill it with the portraits of some great admirers of Governor General Hastings. Now, Sir, as you are beyond all comparison the first in dignity, and in patriotic character, I would ask the favour of you to let at one end of the table ; nor will General Richard Smith take it ill, that I should place him at the other. I should leave you to determine amongst yourselves, which should be called the head, or Chai man's end. On your right hand I would place Mr. *Cesurg*, as the first and best evidence ; and as Mr. *Macaulay*, the Author of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, is your next best hand, and suits the other in looks

and complexion, I would place him opposite to Mr. Goring: Mr. C. JV. B. Rous next to Goring on the right, and he should be confronted with Mr. Farrer, the lawyer, on the left; two better center figures could not easily be found for such a group; Sir Joshua would help a little the complexion of the last: then comes Master Philip Francis; the complexional tint of this last gentleman's visage, will agree very well with the honourable and worthy General's. There are various orders of knights and esquires, such as those of Malta, the round table, knights of the post, &c. so likewise we hear of the seven wonders of the world, seven wise men of Greece, seven plagues of Egypt, &c. but to me it has been left to furnish out an oval table, at which to accommodate *seven illustrious Patriots*, who can, with the most frivolous, ridiculous, and fallacious stories, entertain a whole nation for a year and a half together.

I much doubt whether there is to be met with, an original manuscript Bengal Durbar account, written in the true Schanscrit character, in any one of our famous libraries, or other depositories of learning. This of Goring's, if accepted as genuine by a Committee of the House of Commons, must, on that account alone, have become very valuable, and ought, in honour to the man, (who, assisted by a military force, stole it out of the pa-

face of the Nabob of Bengal, from amongst the archie es of the illustrious family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, which Prince can be proved to have de-scended from Adam,) to be deposited in the Bod-leian Library at Oxford. I have already left by my will, the original picture of the seven Patriots to the same university. During my existence, it shall be hung up in the Cheesemonger's Committee chamber at Westminster.

As to common Asiatic accounts, there are some very good originals which have been presented to the public. I shall, however, trouble you, Sir, with one more. It was sent to me by a gentleman who resided at the city; (that is, Cossimbuzir, or Moorshadabad, the seat of the Nabob, at the time the three Commissioners, *Maxwell, Anderson, and Grant*, went up to examine such papers as Commissioner *Gering* might lay violent hands on, when he dispossessed the Regent Mother of her house and property, by an order from the Major-
ity. It came to me just in the form I now give it to you. But I cannot say that I value myself much on being possessed of the original, because in the records of former Committees of the House of Commons, are to be met with some still more original, and better authenticated. The follow-
ing, Sir, I have extracted from the eighth Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Com-

mons, sitting at Westminster in 1773, pages 139, 140, and 141.

" Fort William, November 14th, 1769.

At a Consultation; *PRESENT*;

John Cartier, Esq. <i>President.</i>	Thomas Rumbold,
Brigadier General Smith,	Charles Floyer,
Claud Russel,	Francis Hare, Esqrs.

(The Governor indisposed.)

GENERAL Smith delivers in an account of his expences since he has had the command of the army.

ORDERED, That they be entered after the consultation, and that the military Paymaster General pay the balance.

STATEMENT of *CASH* received and due, from the honourable Company.

To disbursements, as per bills of, delivered to the Board Sent Rupees - -	1767.	Dec. By cash received from the Paymaster of the 2d Brigade - -	55,500 0 0
3,11,806 0 0			

Datta,

Brought forward	3,11,806 0 0		53,500 0 0
Batta, at 11 per cent		1768	
- - -	34,128 10 6	Jan. Ditto, ditto	53,500 0 0
		Sept Ditto, ditto	77,700 0 0
		1769	
		July Ditto, ditto	70,000 0 0
		Oct. Ditto, ditto	51,300 0 0
			3,10,000 0 0
		Balance	36,10,10 6
Current Rs	3,46,104 10 6	Current Rs	3,46,104 10 6

E. E.

Fort William, Nov. 9. 1769.

(Signed) *RICHARD SMITH.*

The Honourable Company Dr.

1766.			
October.	Nazir to the King	- - -	816
1767.			
April.	To Alha Rajah Bul-wand Sing.		*
	An elephant	- -	3,000
	Serpeach and dress	1,000	
		—	4,000
May.	Nazirs to the King for myself and suite		1,250

The Nabob Vizier Su-
jah ul Dowlah, at
Allahabad.

Five horses	-	-	3,000
An elephant	-	-	3,000
Nine trays of kincobs, gold cloth, shauls, &c. &c	-	-	2,400
A culzy and serpeach			2,500
		—	10,900

June. The Shah Zadah, or
King's Son; on his
paying me a visit.

Nazirs	-	-	336
Five horses	-	-	2,800
Nine trays of kincobs, gold cloth, &c.			2,400
A culzy and serpeach			1,800
		—	7,336

Presents to his Ma-
jesty Shah Allum,
on his honouring
me with a visit.

Nazirs	-	-	1,616
A rich musical clock			1,944
Seven horses	-	-	3,900
An elephant	-	-	3,000
Eleven trays of kin- cobs, gold and sil-			
		—	10,460

Brought forward 10,460

ver cloths, shauls, &c. &c. - -	2,945
A culzy and serpeach	2,700
	—.. 16,105

July. Nazir to the King at the coronation feast	- - - 816
Ditto on the birth of a Prince	- - - - 336

1768,

January. Presents to the Nabob Vizier, on my visit- ing him at Fyzabad.	
An elephant - -	3,000
Five horses - -	3,500
Embroidered sumpter cloths, gilt bridles, saddles, and furni- ture - - -	2,000
A rich musical clock	1,944
Nine trays of kincobs, gold and silver cloths, shauls, and fine muslins -	2,600
A culzy and serpeach	2,400
	—..

Presents to the Vizier's Son, Nabob Mizza Amanny.	—.. 15,244
---	------------

Five trays of kincobs, gold cloths, shauls, &c. &c. - -	1,370
Fuzees, pistols, globes, velvets, pictures, &c. 2,000	
	3,370
Presents to the Na- bob Munir vul Dowlah.	
Five trays of kin- cobs, &c. - -	1,145
A culzy and serpeach	1,000
	2,145
Presents to Rajah Si- tal Roy.	
Five trays of kincobs, shauls, &c. - -	1,256
A culzy and serpeach	1,000
	2,256
Ditto to Alha Rajah Bulwand Sing.	
A dress and serpeach	~ ~ 979
Presents to Nabob Nudiff Cawn, and Asha Rajah Agit Sing, the sons of Munir vul Dowlah and Sittabroy, and to the sons of Na- bob Afez Rhemut,	
	one

one of the Rohilla Chiefs - - -	3,975
December. Nazirs to the King for self and suite - - -	816
Presents to the Shah Zadah, on his pay- ing me a visit.	
Nazirs - - -	255
Five trays of kincobs, shauls, &c. -	1,660
Three horses - -	1,500
Fire-arms, pictures, &c. 744	
	4,159
Presents to Nabob Mogul Allee, bro- ther to Nizam Al- lee, Subah of the Deccan.	
Five trays of kincobs, shauls, &c. -	1,350
Fuzee and pistols	300
	1,650
Nazirs to the King on the feast of Ede - -	816
Presents to the Na- bob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah.	
Nine trays of kincobs, shauls, and gold cloths - -	2,600
	A cubzv.

(38)

	Brought forward	2,600
	A culzy and serpeach	2,000
	An elephant	3,000
		—
	Presents to the Na. bob Munirul Dow- lah.	7,600
	Two large lustres	800
	Four pieces of embroi- dered silk	1,320
	One piece of Europe silver tissue	475
	Pictures and prints	400
April.	Nazirs to the King on the feast of Narow	2,99.
	—	816
	Presents to Alha Rajah Agit Sing.	
	A horse	700
	Fuzee and pistols	450
	Serpeach	500
June.	Presents to the Nabob Ahmet Cawn, Bis- wach Chieff of the Patna tribe.	1,650
	Europe broad cloth	
	Fuzees, pistols, and telescopes	975
	—	610
		—
	Presents	1,585

Presents to the sons of Munir vul Dowlah and Sittabroy, &c.	
Of cloth, shauls, &c. 1	850
Presents to Alha Ra- jah Bulwand Sing.	
A dress and serpeach	990
A state palanquin -	- 4,000
A state howdah for my elephant -	- 3,950
Durbar charges, including pre- sents to the vakeels, to the King's household servants, to the servants of the Vizier, and other omrahs, and the ex- pences of my decan, at 600 Rs. per month, 36 months, from the 1st of September, 1766, to the 1st of September, 1769. - - - - -	21,600

	Sont Rupees
	1,24,606
Calcutta,	-----
Sept. 11th, 1769.	E. E.

(Signed) *RICHARD SMITH.*

The Honourable Company Dr.

To my table expences during my command of the army, and as Commander in Chief, from the 1st of August, 1766, to the 1st of August, 1769, at a medium, amounting to 5,200 rupees per month, for 36 months - - - Sont Rupees 1,87,200
Calcutta, E. E.

Sept. 11th, 1769. (Signed) *RICHARD SMITH.*

I HOPE that General Richard Smith will excuse my introducing the above paper, just at this particular juncture. Nay, I expect that he will thank me for it. To a man who has taken such uncommon pains to serve the public, much is due: and to shew my high regard to the virtues and abilities of so famous a patriot, I have in hand a history of the General's life, which I propose to compare with that of Mr. Hastings; the balance of merit and disinterested services, will no doubt be greatly in favour of the former, and convince the East India Company how necessary it is for them to recall the latter, to make room for the General. Indeed, I know but one man in the kingdom, who deserves the government of Bengal better than the General, and that is the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. Esq; — but he is better employed

ployed As for Mr. *Philip Francis*, I would advise him to accept of the station of second in the Council General He must by this time be convinced, that it was a very foolish and pertulant act, if not a kind of desertion of the cause, his giving up the chase in the manner he did. Mr *C W. B. Rouse* will make an excellent third member of the Council, *Charley Goring*, Esq an inexceptionable fourth, and my *perboiled friend*, *Sawrey Mansfield Cousin Macintosh*, the fifth Thus have I disposed of my whole group of worthies, and that in such a manner, as must satisfy all parties, except one da——d old grumbling fellow, *that sterc Captain Price*, nothing will satisfy that avaricious wretch, though he has been thirty years plundering the poor Indians, and is now, it is well known, very near as rich as that Asiatic Cœsus, Governor Hastings, he yet wants to go back again, to have the other pluck at them however, we have him fast, and my patriots will not soon forget his Remarks and Observations on their honourable brother member, Cousin Macintosh's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

GENERAL *Clavering*, Colonel *Mrsor*, and Mr. *Francis*, were so elated with the hops of what Goring would find in the Nabob's palace, to fix criminality on, and destroy the character of Mr. Hastings, that they continued to write the most infamous stories home to the Company, and to the

the Ministry, desiring them to have patience, and they would furnish them with the most damning proofs of his avarice and peculation. In the interim, to keep up their spirits, the following assertions were transmitted, to prepare their minds to receive any the most diabolical accounts, which such a man as Mr. Goring could collect. In three different months preceding the last dispatch in April, 1775, the following extracts were sent home.

First Extract.

“ THE shortness of the period which has elapsed
 “ since we took upon us the government of your
 “ affairs, has not left room for many external oc-
 “ currences ; you will, however, find that our
 “ consultations have not been unfrequent, and that
 “ the resolutions in them, we are sorry to say it,
 “ have not been formed in that harmony, which
 “ was equally the object of your instructions and
 “ our wishes, could it have been maintained con-
 “ sistent with the duty we owe to you, and our
 “ own characters, in asserting the opinions which
 “ our judgment dictated.”

Second Extract.

“ THE Court of Directors are already sufficiently
 “ informed, at what time, and from what causes,
 “ we found ourselves obliged to relinquish our
 “ earliest opinions in Mr Hastings’s favour, and
 “ to adopt others diametrically opposite to them.

“ We

• We now beg leave to go a little farther than we
 • have yet done, in the explanation of our senti-
 • ments on this subject.

Third Extract.

• TRUTH, however, will, we doubt not, ere-
 • long, find its way to the public view; and if we
 • have any apprehension for the consequence of
 • our enquiries, it is not of being unable to prove
 • even more than we have advanced, or suggested,
 • but least the general state of this country, should
 • appear to be such, as may alarm the Company
 • and the Nation, for the approaching and instant
 • ruin of Bengal, &c.

Fourth Extract.

• NUNDOMAR finding himself deceived, or dis-
 • appointed, by the Governor General, soon made
 • use of the means which his intimacy with the
 • Governor had put into his power to gratify his
 • resentment. Whatever might have been his mo-
 • tives, his discoveries have thrown a clear light
 • upon the honourable Governor General's con-
 • duct, and the means he had taken of making
 • the very large fortune he is said to possess, of
 • upwards of forty lacks of rupees, which he must
 • have amassed in about two years and a half.

• J. CLAVERING.
 • GEO. MONSON.
 • P. FRANCIS.

jeft, that her solicitation served only to incite me to an instant conclusion of the dispute, by a full and effectual confirmation of the decree which had been passed upon it in the preceding administration.

Third.

IT will not escape your observation, that notwithstanding the violence with which I have been persecuted, I am not even charged with a single instance of oppression, except in the grant of the Purgannah of Baharbund, which I have already explained: there cannot, I think, be a stronger proof that my conduct in this respect, has been wholly unexceptionable.

Fourth:

To what lengths the violence of my adversaries, which has been progressively improving to this time, will be carried, when the last difficulties of this season will have left no means of further appeals, I can only conjecture.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Such, Sir, was the Governor General's opinion of what the Majority had done, and were about to do, even before Mr. Goring set out for the city with full powers to seize on papers by violence, or force evidence, by brutal and oppressive usage to the Nabob and his Mother, the Queen Dowager.

ger and Regent of the Kingdom Pray, my dear and Right Honourable Sir, look in Mr Goring's face, and tell me, would you entrust a man with such a suspicious and lowering brow, with such powers, to enter the palace of an innocent Prince and helpless Princess? If you would not, why have you accepted the evidence of such a man, or any papers he can produce, supposing that he tells truth, when he owns that he stole them out of the Nabob's palace, but secreted them from the Majority of government (who expressly employed him for the purpose of seizing of them) because it would have exposed him to the odium of the whole settlement? Believe me, Sir, he judged right, the whole of the inhabitants of Bengal, held the character of the man in such utter abhorrence, and his conduct in such detestation, that he had nothing left for it, but to secrete whatever he had purloined in the palace of the Nabob, and house of his Mother, the Princess Regent, and steal with it out of the country in the best manner he could. Nor must you, Sir, take it ill, whilst you continue to countenance such characters, to find your name linked with theirs

Some papers he did refer to the Commissioners, and they made their report in due form Perhaps, Sir, you are now raised so high, as to condemn the paltry politicks of an East India Proprietor, and will not, though I was to ask it of you,

you, go and examine their records at the India House, for the result. But notwithstanding that you may have caught the *large spotted fish* you wanted, General Smith hath not yet been so lucky. Send him to examine the contents. But for fear that neither of you should go, I will (to oblige some very worthy and disinterested men, who have drawn some information from my former Letters to you, and will read this with confidence) give you the account which was transmitted from Moorshadabad to me, of the proceedings of that Committee, the youngest member of which is intended for the first vacancy which shall happen at my board of patriots. It was sent me from the city, and is as follows :

" AMONG the numerous attempts of the Majority to rob the Governor General of his good name, the following is a remarkable one : A charge was brought by one Nonut Roy, and Mr. James Grant, against the Begum Regent, of an embezzlement of a sum, amounting to Rs. 9,67,693 .. 15 .. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, and of a further sum unaccounted for, of Rs. 2,69.563 .. 15, which the Majority were in hopes might be made to fall obliquely on the Governor General. In their hopes they eagerly catched at this information of Nonut Roy and Mr. Grant. The former was a worthless writer of the Nabob's household, and the latter an assistant to the Moorshadabad Coun-

' cil' Without attending either to the infamy of
 ' Nonut Roy's character, or the unlikelihood of
 ' Mr Grant's obtaining such information as could
 ' be relied on, and without enquiring into the
 ' probability of any one circumstance that could
 ' justify them in deeming the charge worthy of
 ' their belief, they admitted it with pleasure on
 ' their records, and immediately came to the re-
 ' solution, ' of appointing Mr Charles Goring to
 ' seize on all the Nabob's household papers and
 ' accounts from the year of 1764, of dismis-
 ' sing the Begum R^egent, of raising Rajah Goor-
 ' das, the son of Nundcomar, to the dignity of
 ' Guardian to the Nabob, and of appointing a
 ' commission of Messrs Maxwell, Anderson, and
 ' Grant, to receive and examine the papers which
 ' should be delivered to them by Mr Goring; and
 ' to assist them therein, they had an establishment
 ' of writers formed, the principal of which was
 ' Nonut Roy, one of the informants.

' WHEN men set themselves up for reformers,
 ' or boast of integrity and honour, they should
 ' take particular care that their actions correspond
 ' to their professions, or the world will give but
 ' little credit to their declarations. When oppres-
 ' sion and injustice are loudly exclaimed against
 ' by men who profess themselves patterns of mo-
 ' deration and honesty, we must either see these
 ' virtues

virtues practised by them, or disbelieve their assertions.

The gentlemen of the Majority, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, have produced many elaborate performances on these topics : it is, therefore, but fair to compare their conduct with their avowed principles of action, that the world may judge of their pretensions to candour and honesty. If it shall be found, that, neither biased by prejudice, nor influenced by party, they have sought only the public good ; that, guided by justice, they have avoided all partiality ; that, when compelled to act in the sacred character of judges, they have been directed by equity, nor dared to incline the balance they have been appointed to hold, we may then join in the praises they have bestowed on themselves ; and their employers, and the nation, will applaud their uprightness. But if, on the other hand, it shall be found, that personal pique, or private resentment, hath had a place in their councils ; that, swayed by interest or envy, they have courted informers, and encouraged calumny ; that, regardless of justice, they have committed oppression ; that power hath been exerted where equity only should have ruled ; that to accuse was to please, and to inform was to obtain reward from them, the world will then judge of the regard that should

be

be paid to their representations, and of the conformity of their words to their actions. But to return to the fact that led me into this digression.

On the bare information of Mr. Grant, supported only by this worthless writer, Nonut Roy, did the gentlemen of the Majority instantly dismiss the Begum Regent of the high office she held under the sanction of the Court of Director's approbation. And by this act they converted a charge into a crime. They had not even the plea of presumption, for the facility with which they admitted the accusation; for it was not at all likely, that either a writer of the Nabob's household, or an assistant to the Moor-shadabad Council, should come at any probable proofs of the Begum's misconduct. And so precipitate a resolution, can only be accounted for by a report which prevailed, that their arch informer, Nundcomar, had told them, the Governor General had received seven lacs of rupees, when he appointed the Begum Regent. It is certain they had long been labouring to find out some plea for an enquiry into the Durbar affairs. It is also an undoubted fact, that Nundcomar had encouraged the Nabob to write to the Governor and Council, to remove his Mother the Begum, and even dictated the terms of the

Letter to him. It is also an undoubted fact, that Mr. Charles Goring, the worthy instrument made use of by the Majority, to seize on the Nabob's household papers, did endeavour, when he found there was nothing to impeach the Governor General's honour and integrity, to prevail on the Begum, both by promises and threats, to affix her seal to a paper, which he himself had prepared, specifying that two lacs of rupees had been given to the Governor General. This said Mr. Goring, who was chosen to execute the commands of the Majority, had but an equivocal character at best, except in these points, that he was entirely devoted to their inclinations, and would stoop to the meanest offices for the sake of money. Yet to this confidential gentleman an extraordinary latitude of power was granted, from a reliance, no doubt, that he would only use it properly. He was directed to dismiss the Begum; and for fear of the resistance of a helpless woman, orders were given that he should be assisted with such a military force as he might require. He was also permitted to remove the Begum, if necessary, from her house and family, to another place in the city, at a distance from her own palace. He was also permitted to seize and confine any person of the household, who might require such treatment. Accordingly, one of Mr. Goring's first acts was to surround

surround the palace with guards, and to seize and
 confine the Begum's head Eunuch, her principal
 servant and chief adviser. Thus in a few days,
 was the Begum Regent of Bengal, precipitated
 from the highest of power to the abyss of wretch-
 edness; disgrace and dismission were in an in-
 stant cast upon her. Her own fears were in-
 creased by those of the women that attended her,
 who felt the utmost horror from such a violation
 of the oriental manners and customs, and from
 seeing the palace of their Princess, which used to
 be an asylum of peace and security, converted
 into a prison surrounded with guards. But when
 the Begum was informed of the further power of
 Mr. Goring to remove her from her apartments,
 despair overcame her fear, and she resolutely de-
 clared, that if such a dishonour was really in-
 tended, she would not survive the shame of it;
 and that both herself and her women had cou-
 rage enough to prefer death to ignominy; and
 that she would sacrifice herself and them on the
 tomb of her deceased husband, Jaffier Ally Cawn.
 Under these terrors and apprehensions, involved
 in sorrow and disgrace, without a friend or an
 adviser to apply to, was the unhappy Begum
 daily solicited by Mr. Goring for informations;
 and in one of those visits it was, that Mr. Goring
 presented the paper for her to affix her seal, speci-
 fying that he had given two Jack of rupees to the
 Governor

* Governor General.* How clear must his conduct have been, when, under such circumstances, nothing could be found to accuse him of! and how innocent of any thing like a crime, when in this situation, the Begum could reply, (which she actually did,) * *If I must accuse the Governor falsely, tell me how to make the lie appear at all like truth, and let me not be detected in the very manner of telling it.**

* It is impossible absolutely to prove that Nundcomar did inform the gentlemen of the Majority, the Governor General had received seven lacks of rupees from the Begum, and that this was the motive of their conduct on the present occasion. But let the facts which have been related, of their extraordinary resolutions, of the uncommon powers granted to Mr. Goring, of

* When Mr. Goring found that his threats were in vain, he intreated the Begum to sign the paper. He begged her, for God's sake, to sign it. He told her the gentlemen of the Majority would do any thing for her they would restore her to her former honours and dignity, and heap continual favours upon her. When all this would not avail, he emphatically told her, that his reputation was at stake, that he should be brought to ~~shame~~ and disgrace, and could not return, if she would not accuse the Governor General. Mr. Goring's idea of reputation, and the Majority's judgment in the choice of an agent, are here pretty plainly shown. The purpose of his opposition is also pretty plainly hinted at in the last argument he uses for it is evident he was sensible of no shame, but that of disappointing their *hopes*, and probably their *instructions*.

* the

the use he made of them, and of the severity
 exercised on the Begum, be combined, and com-
 pared with the nature of the report, and I think
 the world in general will not hesitate to declare,
 that they form an internal conviction of its truth,
 as strong as a legal evidence in a court of
 justice.

THE next remarkable circumstance in the
 conduct of the Majority, is their appointing No-
 nut Roy, one of the informers, the head writer
 for inspecting the Persian accounts which Mr.
 Goring was to seize, and Mr. Grant, the other
 informer, to be a member of the commission
 that was to digest their accounts, and render them
 into English. Let the world judge of the equity
 and justice, of suffering two men to have any con-
 cern in the examination of a charge, which they
 themselves had brought forth.

THE last, and not least remarkable, part of the
 resolution of the Majority on this occasion, was
 the honour they conferred on Rajah Goordass,
 the son of Rajah Nundcomar, in appointing him
 to the office of Guardian to the Nabob, in the
 room of his Mother the Begum. He was a man
 of very mean abilities, and therefore not very
 capable of instructing his Excellency, had he
 been inclined to listen to him. But what was an
 insuperable bar to the Rajah's exercising the dy-
 ties

ties of his office, or the Nabob's profiting by them, was his religion. He is a Bramin. Now nothing in nature can be more opposite in manners, principles, and tenets, than a Mussulman and a Gentoo. And a Mahometan would as soon think of sending his son into a hogstye, as putting him under the tuition of a Bramin. The propriety of this appointment can therefore only be pointed out by *another illustration*. Rajah Nundcomar, the father of Goordass, was the principal friend, favourite, confidant, and informer of the Majority. He was unluckily accused of a conspiracy against the Governor General, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Vansittart, and had been apprehended for a forgery. In these unfortunate circumstances, it was highly necessary to support him as much as possible. His misfortunes and his office, rendered him an object of their tenderest regard. They visited the good man in his affliction, when he was bound over to stand a prosecution for the conspiracy, and frequently enquired after him in his prison. They cherished the son for the father's sake; and they hoped that the honours and dignity which they conferred on the former, would reflect a ray of comfort on their dejected favourite. By thus espousing the family interest, and supporting its drooping fortune, the Majority answered two purposes; they gratified the duties of friendship, and promoted their own intentions. When every

body

body saw with what warmth and zeal they served their friend, few had the courage to accuse, and none, they thought, would dare to prosecute him. It was apparent, from their conduct, that his cause was their cause, his interest their interest, and hence they hoped, that no one would presume to continue their prosecutions against their favourite, with that vigour which was necessary to convict him. They also hoped, that by thus intimidating the witnesses which might otherwise appear against him, they should defeat the laws of their country, and set their friend once more at liberty, to continue the infamous practices of his former life, which had been a series of intrigue, treachery and information. This accounts for the extraordinary part, as well as the extraordinary honour conferred on 'Rajah Goordass.

HAVING examined the motives of the conduct of the Majority, and their impartial mode of enquiry, it remains now only to shew the little grounds there were for such an investigation, and how fruitless have been their attempts to fix an odium where they wished to place it.

AFTER a tedious examination of the papers and accounts delivered to the commissioners by Mr. Goring, during which, they discovered an attempt of Nonut Rou's ~~desire~~ ~~desire~~ to satisfy them, they

they proceeded to an examination of the charge brought against the Begum Regent, and after enquiring into every article of the two sums which she was accused of having embezzled, or not accounted for, there did not appear the slightest foundation to build the accusation upon: her character and conduct were both found irreproachable; and it is fully shewn, that she is as innocent of the charge brought against her, as the Governor General is free of any imputation that can impeach his integrity.

I WILL forbear to make any comments on the conduct of the gentlemen of the Majority upon this occasion; you know that it is exactly of a piece with the rest of their proceedings; and it is notorious to every one, that whenever they heard of the Governor General's name, the information was received with eagerness, and the informant treated with every distinction they could bestow; that to slander him hath been their end and aim, ever since they wrested the government out of his hands; and this narrative will sufficiently prove, how diligently they exert themselves in this unworthy and unwarrantable pursuit. If it were not an unpardonable offence against the dignity of Mr. Hastings's character, to mention it with theirs, I would call upon their scribe, Mr. Philip Francis, to produce a single instance of the Governor General's conduct,

“duty, that can reproach him like this of theirs? Come fourth, thou virtuous *particle of a King*,” and tell the world your triumvirate can do this without a blush. Tell them also, that for your own part, you have amassed a larger fortune in three years, than the rapacious Governor General hath made in three and twenty: and then tell them, that you laugh equally at their credulity and your own baseness.”

If Mr. Goring denies one single iota of the above account, refer him to Captain Joseph Price, the man from whom I had it. Your friend, Mr. Francis, and others of your worthy friends, will inform you, that the great crime of that sturdy old fellow, is the speaking plain truth.”

As an Englishman, I am fond of Parliaments, and have long been in the habit of revering the institution; but lately I have discovered a mighty defect in some parts of the conduct of their committees. I wish their proceedings to be more simplified. It is well known, that a Committee of the House of Commons, may summon whom they please to give them information on any subject whatever that the

* Mr. Francis was so elated with his extraordinary promotion from a Clerk in the War-Office, to a Supreme Councillor, that he could not no longer think himself a subject, and used to call himself *the fifth part of a King*.

House thinks proper to have investigated, and every good man obeys their summons with a deference and respect that is due to a detached body of men from the national Senate. But it sometimes happens, and it has happened to me, that a man may leave them without one particle of respect remaining. When the first object of the House is forgotten, and a person who may have been summoned down to Westminster to give his opinion on a judicial subject, is asked what regimen is prescribed at Bengal for persons infected with the Influenza, he at first may be abashed, but will most certainly in the end answer, 'water gruel made of rice.' Query, 'But do not you think that the doctor had some particular reasons for prescribing in that manner? Did not many people declare that it was policy in the doctor so to prescribe?' Answer. 'Some people did say so; but others thought that it was done *scundem artem.*' I say, Sir, when a man, who has been so questioned, comes afterwards to observe, that the gentlemen who questioned him, in the most solemn manner assure the House, that it is their firm belief, that the political gruel ordered by the doctor, was intended by him to poison the patient, and that in consequence of it, no man at Bengal hath since, or perhaps ever will again, complain of that disorder, but rather die than apply to so diabolical a physician for a remedy, how can we help wondering at such an assertion?

and

and yet a certain Statesman hath been capable of as great an absurdity. I have, Sir, been examined by you, and I declare, that I think you the most unproper man in the worl'd to state questions to any man. Let the examination be on whatever subject it may, your imagination is so lively, and your ideas so rapid, that in the same instant, all the several modes of putting the question, and every combination of words which can be framed for answering it, crowd into your mind, nor can you separate them so as to ask a single uncompounded question. Your abilities, Sir, are too refined for any station in this mundane system. Plato's Republic, some Eutopia, or Governor General of the Moon, might suit your elevated metaphysical genius; all below is too material and groveling for your universal activity of intellect. I say nothing of the Seminaries in Moorfields, or St. Lukes.

AGAIN, as an Englishman, I am apt to attend to the reasoning of the Committee, drawn from the evidence as is commonly supposed to be before them. Not one person in a thousand, ever read the questions and answers as they are stated, or once look into the volumes of papers produced as vouchers in the Appendix. What the Committee think on the subject, they think. Committees are composed of members deputed from the honourable House of Commons, to enquire into some particular affair, and ought not to suffer

Let their passions or private views to interpose. They are the jury, and their verdict passes current without doors. But thank God, they but report; and if in their Reports, any thing is inserted which is not justified by the evidence, no conclusion which they may draw to the prejudice of an individual, will have any weight with the Public, or with the House. The reasonings drawn from their Reports must be just, and the conclusions fair; if not, the most simple man in the kingdom hath an undoubted right to appeal from the Report to the House, and from the House to the Kingdom at large, whilst the matter is in agitation, and until the united powers of the whole legislature, have determined on the merits of the Report, by framing an Act of Parliament, which, the instant it has received the royal assent, and has been promulgated, becomes a law of the land. When that happens, I must, as it will then be my duty to do, submit; but until that shall come to pass, I will never cease to say, that the evidence you have deduced to prove that the Governor General of Bengal is a peculator, or was directly or indirectly concerned in the prosecution, or condemnation, of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bahadar, never had the least foundation in truth.

Let us, Sir, for one moment, turn our eyes back to the place from whence we set out, and examine candidly and fairly, what were the in-

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LET US, Sir, for one moment, turn our eyes back to the place from whence we set out, and examine candidly and fairly, what were the in-

ducements of the House of Commons for appointing your Committee.

THE institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in Bengal, was declared by his Majesty's then Ministers, to be intended to, give relief to the natives, oppressed by a power on which the Mayor's Court was entirely dependent, and therefore could not administer relief. Has it answered the purpose of its creation? By no means. Not only all orders of the natives, but also of every denomination of Europeans abroad, from the Council General to the common inhabitants of Calcutta, have petitioned for its recall, as a most oppressive and destructive institution. The East India Company themselves, who at first petitioned for reform in the judicial department, hoped some good from its erection, now join in the general application to Parliament for its removal, declaring that its continuance will absolutely ruin their affairs.

THE evidence collected by the Select Committee, in their first Report, was so conclusive, that not only all orders of people, without doors, but also those within, saw the necessity of curtailing the power of the Judges: and an Act passed last Sessions of Parliament, to limit their jurisdiction. More was attempted in the House of Commons, and promised in the House of Lords, and the Select

leet Committee, was continued to sit at the beginning of the present Sessions. As it was supposed that much good had been done to the affairs of the East India Company by the new Regulating Act, for abridging the power of the Judges at Bengal, the managers were not without hopes; that the popularity which it had raised them to in the opinion of the public, might, with proper management, be made to operate to their own advantage in Leadenhall-Street. To bring this round so as to answer their purposes effectually; the removal of the Governor General of Bengal was thought to be a necessary step; and in your second Report we find, that an attempt is made to link his name with those of the Judges, in a supposed charge of conspiracy in taking off the delinquent Rajah Nundcomar. This matter seems to have been canvassed over so much in private, as to have induced the Committee to believe that they should be able to prove the fact to the public, or, at least, by boldly insinuating that it was so, to obtain so much credit to their assertions, as would justify their proceeding, in endeavouring the recall of the Governor General: and had I not in my first Letter to you, Sir; disputed your fact, and in my second, proved that they did nowhere exist, it is not easy to say to what lengths you would have proceeded in your third, Report from the Select Committee.

You had completed every enquiry that was necessary, and convinced every reasonable man, that the institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in Bengal, was a pernicious institution, and you had effectually curtailed its power, and prevented its further interfering in, matters of revenue. So far the expectation of the public had been answered ; but personal spleen, and private emolument, remained to be gratified ; nor was this to be effected, but by the removal of the Governor General. Neither your eloquence, nor your Chairman's industry, could induce one single man in the House of Commons (who was not concerned in your schemes) to believe a word of your insinuations, on the avarice or immorality of Mr. Hastings. Not only you and your Committee often changed ground, but the Chairman of another Committee found every post which he at first occupied, in his attack on the character of Mr. Hastings, to be perfectly untenable. In short, the House of Commons, at length discovered that not only the credit of the Committees, but that of the House itself, was in some degree concerned : something, they saw, must be done to save appearances ; and a vote passed to remove Governor General Hastings, of whose innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, four fifths of the House were convinced.

Such, Sir, has been the consequence of admitting the spirit of party to have a place in national enquiries." It is impossible for the most powerful bodies of men to conduct such jobs, but to their own discredit. Your attempt to destroy the moral character of Mr. Hastings, has been so poorly supported, that men who would have admitted your facts without investigation, as to his political declinquency, now doubt the whole, and give you credit for nothing. For my part, Sir, since I have examined so narrowly, as I have done, your conduct in the Select Committee, I hold you to be the most dangerous man in the kingdom.

At the very moment of time that you give up your charge against Governor General Hastings, in a manner little to your credit, you broach another on the honour of Admiral Rodney. Surely, Sir, that great officer will not pass over your treatment of him. You advise his being created a peer of the realm, and give for the reason, that his late acquired laurels have covered his shameful peculation at St. Eustatia. I should have thought that there might have been some truth in your insinuation in that business, if I had not proof positive, that your real disposition is so malignant, that you will accept the most vague and frivolous evidence, against the moral honesty of a man, whose political character you dislike. So help me God, as I declare in the most solemn manner, that I would

I would not take your word or your oath, for five pounds, if it led to the injury of a man, whose notions in political economy differed from your own. The man who, when out of power, will correspond with, and encourage the declared enemies of his country, and when he is in power, use every unmanly and unjust means, to lower in the opinion of the public, the two men, whose great abilities, professional skill, and true courage, have saved the national possessions in the East and West Indies, is, in my poor opinion, more than a pest in society;—he is the enemy of his country.

GOVERNOR Johnstone warned the House of the situation into which they were about to involve themselves. A resolution of the House of Commons, every Englishman would wish might be supported; but if they forget themselves so far, as to form resolutions which the people without doors deem to be unjust, whatever compliances may be shewn by some few individuals, in order to save their credit, at the expence, and to the injury of an individual, their dignity as a branch of the legislature becomes tarnished; and they run the risk of being forced to endeavour to compel by a law of the land, what was unjust when attempted to be enforced by a resolution of the House of Commons. To such dishonourable situations do the influence of interested and popular speakers, reduce the most respectable bodies of men.

WHAT one point, Sir, have you gained, that an honest man would not be ashamed of? In order to gratify your political spleen, you have attacked the moral character of a man whom you do not know, and thereby expose your inveterate malice to real contempt. Has your friend the General visited the club at Brookes's too often? and is his ill turn at play to be repaired at the expense of the East India Company? What ideas are we to form of your virtue, who have taken so much pains to pull down an Hastings, and to exalt a Smith? Is it possible that you can hope our belief in your sincerity, in proposing reformation and oeconomy in the state, when you offer to our choice a peculator, a corrupter of the morals of the people, and a gambling bankrupt, as the proper person to retrieve the Company's affairs, whilst we yet remember, that his avarice, his infidelity, and selfishness, brought on our ruin?

THE motives which influence men in the most material actions of their lives, must be sought for in their general stamp of character. Declarations of honour, disinterestedness, and true patriotism, seldom carry weight with the world, except the general tenor of conduct of the declaimer quadrates with his professions. Was the Chairman of the Select Committee to harangue in the flowery eloquence of a Burke, or the more solid oratory of a Fox, asserting that he has nothing in view but

but the good of the public, or the interests of the East India Company, I would not, I could not believe him. Such a declaration may seem to take its rise in passion or in prejudice. I deny the fact; and will go on to prove, that every man who shall study the General's true character, and advert to the facts which I am about to lay before him, will be convinced that the East India Company at least, must suffer themselves to be gulled indeed, if they pay any the least attention to any thing he says, or to any thing he does, until he has renounced all pretensions to further employment in their service, either as a soldier, or servant in their civil departments.

7 4

THE General did (as Mr. Woodfall relates) stand up in his place in the House of Commons, on Monday the 12th of June, and declare, that he was warned by his friends, of the danger of the post he was about to occupy as Chairman of the Select Committee, but that he felt himself bold, and that he could stand the storm, and despised every attack which could be made upon him, in consequence of the calumny of some, envy of others, malice of more, and the interested designs of a great number of persons. I will admit that the General, or any other well seasoned patriot, is equal to all that; and provided that his opponents mingle no truth in their invective, malice or prejudice alone cannot hurt, and ought not

to reach the feelings of a genuine patriotic Statesman. I have attacked the General, for I know him well, and am about to attack him again. His brazen coat of mail is gilded over so slighly, that though falsehoods may rebound from its well tried surface, truth will penetrate. Our dispute is not to be decided by his associates in St. Stephen's Chapel. Votes of the House partially obtained, are mere cobwebs, nor can restrain the liberty of a fly. His friends at Westminster cannot send him again to India, and his intentions are too well known in Leadenhall-Street, to be much more minded there. - I am not one of the General's opponents who have attacked him with calumny. His having joined with, and supported men, whose malice induced them to charge the Governor General of Bengal, positively with peculation, and by a *side wind*, with being concerned in a conspiracy to rid the world of the man that was to prove his peculation, brought me into the field. I know the General did not himself believe that Mr. Hastings was capable of the first, or of a stamp of character, which would justify for a moment, the belief of the last. His accidentally having shewn to the world, that the Chairman was totally deceived in the character he had formed of the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, was not sufficient of itself, to induce him to join the cry for the removal of the Governor General, some other motives operated, which I sought, and soon found.

found. The truth of the matter is, the General's frequent visits to Brookes's, with other high modes of expence and dissipation, had made a return to India necessary to his finances; and parliamentary eloquence had taught him, that the more furious his declamations were against the peculation and mal-administration of the men abroad, intermixed with the encomiums on his own independence and disinterestedness, was the ready way to succeed in his views.

At the same time the General could see nothing faulty in the conduct of Mr. Perring, who had joined Sir Thomas Rumbold in all his measures on the coast of Coromandel.—How should he? Perring stood not in his way; and he wished not to offend any but such whom he wanted to remove; and for that reason Mr. Hastings, against whom not one evil deed could be proved, seemed to the General's sight as black as ink.—Why? Because except he could be recalled from the government of India, he (the General) could not obtain the station he wanted in the East India Company's service at Bengal.

Will you, Sir, excuse me one moment, whilst I tell my readers, what charges are not true charges, and which are facts, as they relate to the Governor and the General?

It is not true, that Governor Hastings has, in any part of his life or government, accumulated one single rupee by means dishonest or dishonorable.

It is not true, that he concerned himself, directly or indirectly, in the prosecution or execution, of Rajah Nundcomar.

It is not true, that he involved the Company in useless wars.

It is not true, that he broke, or advised the breaking, any one treaty into which the Company had entered with any of the country powers.

It is not true, that he is disliked by any of the country powers, except such who find their plans of ambition counteracted by his abilities.

* It is not true, that any one of the above charges have been proved against him.

It is not true, that a majority of the Proprietors, or of the Court of Directors, wished his removal, until the latter had been closetted at Whitehall.

Now, Sir, I shall tell you, or rather your friend the Chairman, what is true; and on the merits of

of my facts, rest the cause of the propriety or impropriety, of removing the Governor General, to make way for General Richard Smith.

IT is true, that General Smith left England, with Lord Clive, and arrived at Bengal in 1765

IT is true, that he (the General) left Bengal in the year 1769, with a fortune four times greater than what Governor Hastings now possesses, after having been Governor of Bengal more than ten years

IT is true, beyond a controversy, that the General obtained nearly one half of his fortune, in the undermentioned methods

THE General's share of the commission on neat revenue, during his stay in Bengal, amounted to Cur Rs 1,23,146

His share of the famous Muthoot collection - - - - - 17,000

His pay and batta as Commander in Chief for three years - - - 93,075

His table allowance, as per bill as above - - - - - 1,87 200

Carried over, Cur Rs. 4,20,421

Brought over — Cur. Rs. 4,20,421

THE Asiatics have a saying, that men in power send a Feather to catch a Swan; and as the General never gave the Company any credit for the presents which he received in return for those he gave away, I will suppose that his feather produced a feather in return, if not a Swan; nor will he be displeased at my supposing that his receipts equalled his disbursements in the commerce of present-making, with the Emperor of Hindooostan, Vizier of the Empire, Princes of the Blood, or Chitta Nabobs, &c. which appears to have amounted to, as per bill of his own drawing up

1,24,606

TRAVELLING charges, allowances for tents, budgeroes, houses, cavalcade, and other little et cæteras, will be moderately rated at 3000 Rs. per month, which, for three years, amounts to

1,08,000

Carried over, Cur. Rs.

6,53,027

THOUGH the General was concerned in inland adventures, and foreign

Brought over — Cur. Rs. 6,53,027

reign articles of trade, such as lead, iron, cloth, cotton, salt, tea, silks, and china ware, yet nothing makes him so angry, as to hint at such his former condescension; in compliment, therefore, to his *finer feelings*, I shall suppose, that he sold his salt as others did, and that his share letter A, 1765, produced him a neat profit of —————— 50,000
 And his share letter B, 1766, was worth —————— 40,000

— The General will admit that these valuations are very moderate.

I come now to the commission on the King's chout, tribute, allowance, hush money, salary, present, or by what other name he may choose to call it. The sum stipulated to be paid, and which was paid by the General to the Mogul for three years together, amounted to two millions six hundred thousand rupees annually. I will not in this place tease the General about recoining or chang-

Carried over, Cur. Rs. 6,43,027
 ing

Brought over	—	Cur Rs.	7,43,027
ing the Company's <i>good</i> rupees, into Vizzaty, or <i>bad</i> rupees, he may hear of it in another place, all I ask him to admit here, is the advantage arising from his commission, for paying the money to the Prince If, for that part of his services to the Emperor and the Company, he only reserved to himself one of the twenty-six lacks annually, it was an instance (in him) of great moderation this I shall state at three lacks in the whole			3,00,000
	—		—
	Cur Rs		10,43,027
		—	—

THE General is no bad accomptant, and it having appeared to him at the time he left Bengal, that one current rupee was worth two shillings and three pence sterling, he will allow me to reduce the sum by the same rule, and he will give me some credit for not puzzling the account by the addition or subtraction of batta, but taking at once the most common, and with us, the lowest denomination of current rupees. Ten lacks, forty three thousand, and twenty seven rupees, of that deno-
mination,

mination, at the General's own rate of exchange, comes to, in sterling money, One Hundred and Seventeen Thousand, Three Hundred and Forty Pounds, Ten Shillings, and Nine Pence.

Pounds sterling, £.117,340 10 9

HERE are no bad pickings to be gleaned up fairly in the space of three years. Emoluments arising from the advantages of situation, is always estimated differently, and agreeable to the character of the man. What were his gettings that way, I shall leave to the General himself to ascertain. When Goring, a writer in the service, returned from India before his apprenticeship was out, with a declared fortune of thirty thousand pounds, and a Commander in Chief of the army, with four times the sum, in nearly the same time, the proportions are clearly enough ascertained from which to reason. Let us take round numbers, and it is simply a school-boy question ; viz.

If Master Charles Goring, a writer in the East India Company's service, did, in the space of five years, acquire a fortune *honestly*, amounting to thirty thousand pounds, what ought Mr. Warren Hastings (who also went out a writer) to have acquired

quired in the service of the same Company in thirty years?

Answer, £ 180,000.

Question the second.

If the Commander in Chief of the army in Bengal, did, during the most profound peace all over Asia, acquire, in the *most borowable manner*, in little more than three years, the sum of one hundred and seventeen thousand pounds, (I love round numbers) what ought the Governor General of Bengal to have gained honestly, in ten years as Governor? To answer this question concisely, I have no objection to suppose that the merits and deservings of the men were quite equal, and in that case the answer produces £ 390,000.

As the Secret and Select Committees, with the assistance of all the Company's records, and some as curious witnesses as ever were held up to national contempt, have fallen short to prove that Governor General Hastings is a knave, it may be of use to their cause to have him proved to have been a fool, in not having done what his enemies did, make hay in sun shine weather. Now I am ready and willing to swear before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, that at this moment, Governor

General Hastings doth not possess, real and personal estate included, one hundred thousand pounds. If this would not do the Committee's business, so far as the fixing the appellation of fool, where they aimed at fixing that of knave, I know nothing of their intentions

THERE is no mode of ridicule or contempt, in which such confederacies ought not to be exposed. One of the managers attempts to criminate a Hastings, whom he does not know; and a Rodney, whom he does know, and tries to reduce to board wages, the Prince he serves, but fails in all three, yet goes on to hope, that by his oratory, he shall convince us, that his intentions are pure, immaculate, and disinterested. The General, who, in the course of four or five years, collected together, publickly and privately, more than two hundred thousand pounds, and then, contrary to the positive orders of the masters whom he served, proposed to draw on them for near a million sterling, which, in its consequence, drove them into a state of bankruptcy, and subjected them to the mandates of a corrupt Minister, now joins another set of men, in order to force himself back into their service, because his fortune has been reduced—*every body knows less*. Yet this man, equally trammelled in the virtues of patriotism, has the assurance to talk of being calumniated by envious and interested men, and in the same breath

breath affirms, his intentions are just and honourable, and that the interest of the East India Company and the State, are the only motives to his actions. Believe him those who can—I could with more ease believe, that popularity, and not bribery, obtained a seat in the House for a namesake of his:

• The third great man, and inveterate enemy to Mr. Hastings, is also a senator, and fond of summary modes in judicial proceedings. 'Carry,' says he, 'the eight thousand rupees to my woman, and she will determine, that the Plaintiff shall have five thousand rupees, and the defendant nothing.' The other three thousand have been sunk in *Durbar charges*.' This mode of accounting for money, he learnt from his friend, Rajah Nundcomar. I would ask C. W. B. Rouse, Esq. whether he ever heard of this story at Bengal? and whether it occurred to him, when he declared to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 'that on his conscience, he never heard of mal-practices in the distribution of justice in the country courts at Bengal, whilst Europeans presided in them?' The question is a close one, for he presided himself in a court of Cutcherry; and the story of an officer, presiding at one of the country courts, taking three eighths of a sum decreed, to his own share, was so much a matter of conversation in Calcutta, that his me-

emory is a very convenient one, if he has really forgot it: yet this man's memory is so tenacious in other matters, that he can recall to mind what never happened. Such is my third worthy--so blended, so unjust, and so diabolical are the actions of men, when self-interest comes between them and their unbiased judgment.

As to Philip Francis, he has been cast adrift just in the same manner as he served Macintosh, the Author of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That worthy traveller had engaged at Bengal, to weave into his two volumes of his travels, all the infamous stories which Mr. Francis had collected from all the informers in India, for the space of six years preceding, and so intent was he on his subject, that in seventy-two Letters which he has obtruded on the world, not one of them is free from some scandalous lying story on the character of some individual. Governor General Hastings is, no doubt, the capital figure in the travels; though General Sir Eyre Coote's portrait is highly finished. This universal man has again changed his masters; and his gratitude to Messrs. Whitehill and Lewin, hath induced him to make some trips to the continent in their service. Tired with the politics of the West, he has devoted his service to the Nabobs at the East. In this he is more consistent than in any other action of his life. Whilst a Francis, a Lewin, and a Whitehill,

a Whitehill, and such worthies, want assistance and defence, the indefatigable industry of a Macintosh will never want employment. It is quite natural for the man who has devoted so much of his time to traduce the character of a Hastings, to join heartily in the cause of men, whose principles are so congenial with his own.

I AM in doubt whether Mr. Goring will return to India, as his conduct from 1763 to 1767, in the silk-winding way, and his behaviour in 1774 and 1775, on his second return to India, in character of political bumbailiff to the Majority, when he carried into execution their military orders, or executed their general warrant to dispossess the Queen Regent of her office, and plunder her palace of her effects, is yet forgotten at Calcutta, and until it is quite forgot, his appearance there will be attended with some disagreeable circumstances. The former Majority took as much pains to save his honour, as they did Nundcomar's life, but without effect; nor will his new friends, with all their eloquence, and all their power, be able to induce the most indigent man in the Company's service, who knows his character, to sit down in his company.

THE Governor General's fifth enemy, Mr. Farmer, the lawyer, arrived in Calcutta in October, 1774, so very needy, as to find it necessary to accept

cept eighty rupees for his particular care of a few hounds. To soften the matter, it was called a retaining fee, though given by a man who never hath, or will employ a lawyer. In 1775, he was the leading Council in the trial of Maha Rajah Nundcomar. The man had hopes given him that he should not be hanged, till the rope was about his neck, and then it was unluckily drawn so 'tight, that nobody could hear his complaints. Mr. Farrer came home in 1777, with a fortune of sixty thousand pounds, and was soon discovered to be such a patriot, as to be elected a Member of Parliament. Now as this gentleman must have laboured very hard in his vocation, to raise such a fortune in so short a time, by the profession of the law, I will not admit him to be in the least competent to judge of the merits or demerits of the political abilities, and moral rectitude, of such a man as Governor General Hastings: His office of Standing Council for the Company, and that of defender of Nundcomar, was conferred on him by Mr. Francis, and the Majority; and as it was their interest, and their practice, to collect every villainous and infamous story against Mr. Hastings, whatever credit Mr. Farrer may obtain on the score of gratitude from that party, his opinion can have no weight with impartial people.

As to Captain Cowe, he was a military man, and in the habit of associating with the friends of the

the Majority Appointments to separate commands lie with them, nor was Captain Cowe forgotten He believed what he said, that many people deemed the execution of the Rajah Nund-comar a political manœuvre, but as he was not asked by the Committee, to which of the two parties in civil government he would have his observations applied, and as such mode of expression in political affairs, implies rather a Majority than a Minority in a state, we are obliged to advert to his party principles, to understand his meaning. This, Sir, was the very way in which you explained it, or you would not have sent us back to his evidence, to prove criminality against Governor Hastings As to his saying, that the people were terrified at seeing the Rajah hanged, and in consequence of their fears, run into the river, it deserves no credit at all Captain Cowe had no knowledge of the customs or manners of the people, having himself been bred in the navy, and came to Bengal a very little while before the Majority, and was as ignorant of the language and manners of the people, as Mr Francis himself In short, Sir, he knew as little of Bengal affairs as you do, and is governed in his ideas on similar principles, a personal dislike to Mr. Hastings

PERHAPS it would be hard to produce from the annals of time, a similar case to this of Governor General

General Hastings. Unsupported by family connections, and without any interest, but such as has been made amongst independent men, by his long services, disinterested conduct, and great abilities, in the management of the East India Company's affairs, he has withstood for eight years, the attacks of a party of men, at different times supported by the whole weight of an all powerful Minister, and at another, the hasty vote of the House of Commons. This is true popularity, and worth living for. Some great men, who have thought certain parts of Mr. Hastings's political conduct inconsistent with the national interests, have attacked it fairly on that principle; but at the same time have declared that his honour, integrity, and moral rectitude, were unimpeachable. To such attacks every man, in high and important stations, are most certainly and very justly exposed; and if their conduct will not stand the test of such candid and necessary enquiry, they must give way to their opponents. Such differences in political opinion, exist in all governments; and we have daily experience, that men of the purest morals, and most innocent intentions, differ in opinion in political matters. A man who should say, that Lord North was an injudicious Statesman, and an unlucky Minister, would find many of the same way of thinking; but if he should add, that he was also a conspirator against the life of an innocent man, and

and that he had accumulated half a million of money to his own use; the credit obtained or allowed to the first assertion, would be destroyed by the last; because no man will believe, that his Lordship is by his nature rapacious or blood-thirsty. So it is with Governor General Hastings; and I am convinced, that his well established character for every moral virtue, hath, in the hour of trial, made him friends amongst those who differ from him in some political points: and the independent Proprietors of East India Stock, as well as the Directors of the Company's affairs, if left to themselves, will feel the necessity of continuing in the conduct of their affairs abroad, a man whose rectitude of mind, and vast abilities, will, if any man can do it, restore their affairs.

“THERE are amongst our patriots, men, whose steady adherence to the cause of America, has contributed much to the dismemberment of the British empire. They possess now the offices they wanted, and we shall see how they will go about to heal this great wound. You, Right Honourable Sir, know nothing personally of Governor General Hastings. You have called his politics crooked politics; for which I know no reason, except that the Governor supported the interest of the Nabob of Arcot, against the pretensions of the King of Tanjore, in whose service a nephew of yours has made some trips to and from England.

The

The Governor General hath great local, and more experimental knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic; the Minister of State possesses neither. The Proprietors of East India Stock do therefore determine, that his continuation in their service, is of consequence to their affairs, and will not remove him to make way for your nephew. As to the insinuations contained in the second Report of the Select Committee, it has shaken the credit of the fabricators in the opinion of all impartial men. You have not lost more ground at the west end of the town, by your treatment of Lord Rodney, than in the east, by that most extraordinary attack on the moral character of Governor General Hastings. Your assertions are disbelieved, and your nephew cannot become a Counsellor; no, nor even a Paymaster in the East India Company's service. Recall him, good Sir, and provide for him at home, before your sun-shine day shall be overcast.

GENERAL Smith's motives are no less obvious than yours. He, no more than you, ever saw the Governor General of Bengal. The General having, in the little time he was at Bengal, by his desire to get home the immense fortune which he had so suddenly accumulated, advised to draw bills on the Company, contrary to their orders, and thereby obliged them to apply to the Ministry for assistance: add to this his quarrel with Bolts (who

(who had rivalled the General in his trade to Sujah ul Dowlah's country) had given cause for the Regulating Act of the 13th of the King, and which first subjected the Company to the control of government. But his spleen to the Governor arose from the latter having shewn, to the conviction of all men, that every measure in which the Honourable General had been concerned during his short stay in India, had a tendency to ruin the Company's affairs. The S. I. monopoly, the Cotton monopoly, the China Trade monopoly, in all which this great Soldier was concerned, notwithstanding his affected military pride, the sending money to pay the brigade in Sujah ul Dowlah's country, the payment of the King's tribute with cash sent from Bengal, the deputation to the Vizier's court, in all which manœuvring the General was so much concerned, to the ruin of the Bengal provinces, and the establishment of his own private fortune, are circumstances which having been explained, may justify the General in his spleen to the Governor. But nothing can justify the attempt to do away the moral character of a man, by infamous, unsupported, and insidious implication. However, it has operated properly, by shewing plainly, on what a rotten foundation the Chairman has erected his claim to further employment in the service of the East India Company. C. W. B. Rouse, Esq. is, perhaps, the only one man that has taken an active part

against

against the Governor General of Bengal, who possesses a competent knowledge in Asiatic affairs. He was, whilst the General commanded the army, his linguist and Persian translator. This close connection had no great influence on their minds, nor contributed a particle towards their present political friendship. No two men feel more differently, than do these two bitter enemies of the Governor, in money-matters. The one has been in the habit of great ostentatious expence, and passed through the King's Bench into the Senate House, and through Brookes's into an acquaintance of some of Lord Chesterfield's incurables; and the other has a soul braced up by pining avarice, into a love of money equal to that of a Jew Broker. One wanted to go abroad to obtain money to squander, and the other to collect more to hoard: the recall of Mr. Hastings was necessary to both: nor would they have agreed a moment longer in office together, than till their interest should have come in contact, then would the Court of Directors have been pestered with their complaints and real opinion of one another, which their present views and policy gloss over.

As to Mr. Rouse, the Governor General knew his abilities, and would have used them in the conduct of his government, but his stamp of character was so strongly marked that it was hazardous to join power to so notorious a love of money.

Charles

Charles Fox may use the abilities of a more yielding Jew to effect a political purpose, but he will never trust them with the key to untold gold. Extremes in nature never can unite; and Rouse found the soul of a Francis more congenial with his own than that of an Hastings: this, and a fit of ambition, which he fancied was love for one of General Clavering's daughters, carried him quite away from Hastings to the Majority. He only did not betray because he never was trusted; and he would now insinuate, that Nurdeomir was wrongfully hanged, because the same Judge had decreed, that to take three thousand rupees for determining a cause, where the whole claim amounted to eight, was unsubstantial justice. This gentleman's patriotism standing on such slippery ground, we may conclude his motives for labouring to bring about the recall of Governor General Hastings (even supposing that he was not a candidate for becoming a Bengal Counsellor) take not their rise in the love of virtue.

I HAVE said so much of Mr. Philip Francis, and his conduct to the Governor General of Bengal, from the first hour of his arrival at Calcutta, to the present moment of his wishing to return there, that I believe more will be needless. However, I cannot omit to recommend to all those who have a doubt about the motives of that gentleman's proceedings, to read the Remarks and Observations

tions on Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; at the end of which very interesting and curious pamphlet, he will find twenty questions put by one Captain Price to that gentleman, which, whether answered or not, will explain his real intentions too plainly to be mistaken. But the public now know the political virtues of the man; nor shall they be left in complete ignorance as to his private conduct as a member of society, during his six years stay at Bengal.

MR. Goring's character has been given above, as well as that of Mr. Farter, the lawyer. That of Macintosh may be found in the Remarks on Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Thus, Sir, have I laid before you, and by your means, before the public, the true and undisguised characters of the men, with whom you have so cordially joined to bring about the recall of Mr. Hastings from his government of Bengal. For my part, I most sincerely thank you for the attempt, because it has brought forward much more able advocates in the cause of that great and innocent man, the Governor General, than I can pretend to be.

It is impossible, Sir, that you can forget how silent and passive Mr. Hastings's friends continued, whilst nothing was attempted but to prove that he had been mistaken in some political points. On those subjects of disquisition, his own sentiments,

ments, and his own reasoning, in every situation of the Company's affairs abroad, were on the face of the Company's records at the India House; and happy his friends were, when a Secret Committee was appointed from the House of Commons to investigate them. Men, such as Mr. Hastings, must always wish for similar investigations of their conduct. His friends, therefore, were silent and passive, firmly persuaded that nothing more fortunate could happen, to make truly known the Governor General's character, than such enquiry. The paltry trash published by Mr. Philip Francis and his hirelings, in newspaper squibs and pamphlets, passed unnoticed until the Select Committee decidedly took up his cause, and in the most pointed manner, insinuated to the public, that what had been asserted by the Majority in their Letters from Bengal, relative to the peculation of the Governor General, and his interposing, in order to shorten the life of his accuser, appeared to them to have its foundation in truth. This assertion of yours, Sir, (for General Smith hath told us that you drew it up) roused the friends of Mr. Hastings. It had on me a similar effect to that told us in history of the Roman Boy. Though I despised your Chairman the Cutcherryman, and the Lawyer, I had some fear of you. Truth, supported by your abilities, is invulnerable: but the instant that I found you had been so much warped by your passions, a

misled by your associates, as to leave the line of truth, and wander like the traveller Macintosh, into the regions of fiction, I lost all respect for you, and, with not the thousandth part of your capability, have met you on your own ground, and convinced every man I wish to convince, that you have been mistaken; and that the abilities of a Burke weigh no more than a single vote, when applied in support of arguments which originate in falsehood.

ONCE engaged, I have pursued the argument, and left not a lie standing, which was fabricated by the Majority, against the moral character of Mr. Hastings, from General Clavering's assertion of his having accumulated half a million in two years and a half, inclusive, down to Lacam's snivelling tale of oppression. The law hath set a mark on the fabricators of false evidence; why then should individuals spare them? If I had simply said, that you, Sir, General Smith, Messrs. Rouse, Francis, Farrer, Lacam, Goring, Macintosh, and Cowe, had said things which were not true, and which in their consequences, were injurious to the moral character of Mr. Hastings, it would have had little effect. I have gone further; I have proved that they were not true; and further still, by shewing, in a chain of reasoning, which not one amongst you dare controvert, that

prejudice

prejudice or interested motives, and not true patriotism, the love of truth, or the public welfare, actuated any one of you, in your very illiberal attacks on the honour and honesty of the Governor General of Bengal.

I SET out, in my first Letter, to you, Sir, with affirming, that your insinuation in the second Report of the Select Committee, had no foundation in truth: in my second Letter I have proved, that the evidence you referred to in its support, was more than defective; and in my third shewn, that every man who has taken a part in the illiberal attacks on the moral character of Mr. Hastings, first in Bengal, and latterly in England, are men of such interested views, or of such dubious characters, that their depositions would have been tossed over the bar, in any legal court in the whole kingdom.

I KNOW not how it has come to pass, that the Bengal gentlemen have suffered such loads of scurrility to be thrown on them indiscriminately, without reply. I have known personally and intimately, every Governor, and every Commander in Chief of the Army, who have acted at Bengal, since the capture of Calcutta by the Moors in 1756, and will take some pains to dust the tares and chaff from the wheat. It is singular enough, that of all the opponents of Mr. Hastings, but

one man among them was bred up in the Company's service at Bengal, and that was Mr. Rouse. And I will do him the justice to say, that had he not wanted to have gone back again, I believe that he would have been silent. Mr. Goring made his fortune in his writership, General Smith his in about three years, Mr. Farrer his in about the same time. Mr. Philip Francis employed six years to complete a very noble one, far superior to what the Governor General has, or ever will have. Mr. Macintosh indeed, was there but from the month of August to the month of March following; and as he in that time, found means to acquire more knowledge in the Company's political, civil, military, judicial, and mercantile affairs, (if you will take his own word for it, though not in their service) than the Governor General had done in thirty years residence, I will suppose that he came home as poor as he went out, and depends for his reward on his friend, Mr. Philip Francis. What now, Sir, do you suppose that the sum total of the knowledge of all these your associates, doth amount to in Bengal affairs? Trust me, the former employed themselves in acquiring money, not knowledge; and what is to be found in the travels of the last, does not equal your own, and that is, God knows, as three blue beans in one blue bladder. So much for patriotism and patriots. Take my advice, Sir, and in future, confine yourself to home politics.

politics. You possess now a good snug warm birth. The patronage you enjoy, which enables you to carve for your family, together with your own income from government of four thousand pounds a year, besides odds and ends, is full as much as your services are worth. Your honourable friend, (as you affect to call him) the Chairman of the Select Committee, must certainly have found out your weak side, when he induced you to reason so right-wrongfully, as to attempt to make us believe, that he was an honest man, and Governor Hastings the reverse. But you had two strings then to your bow. Had you not become Paymaster to the King's forces, we might have heard of you as a Commissioner, accompanied by every member at my board of patriots, sailing with a flowing sheet, to settle the national affairs in Asia. At present, the nation has been saved from that political scourge; that it may long continue so, is the prayer of,

Right Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.

LONDON, JUNE, 1782.

